Ph.D.9047

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BROADSIDE BALLAD TRADE AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE TRANSMISSION OF ENGLISH FOLKSONGS.

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of English, University of Cambridge, to meet the requirements of the degree of Ph.D.

by
ROBERT S. THOMSON,
QUEENS' COLLEGE.
July, 1974.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

ROBERT STARK THOMSON

Contents.

Preface and acknowledgments. 1

Introduction. 5
The origin of the term 'folksong — Herder and National poetry — The early collections of English folksongs — definitions of folksong — Cecil Sharp and his criteria of continuity, variation and selection — current attitudes.

Notes. 25

Part I
The Broadside Ballad Printer.

Chapter 1. The beginnings of the trade. 28

Notes. 49

Chapter 2. The Ballad Partners and their successors. 54

Notes. 78

Chapter 3. Eighteenth century ballad printing in London and the provinces. 81

Notes. 133

Chapter 4. Nineteenth century ballad printers - an annotated check-list. 139

Notes. 167

Part II
The Transmission of ballads.

Chapter 1. Temporising poets, trotting mercuries and bawling hawkers. 169

Notes. 190

Chapter 2. Chevy Chase in literature and tradition 192

Notes. 212

Chapter 3. Folksong and broadside variants. 215

Notes. 260

Chapter 4. A sketch of collecting activities in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. 264

Notes. 276

Appendices

A. The Thackeray - Millet - Milbourne Partnership agreement, 279

B. The Norris - Brown ballad entry of 1712. 283

C. William Dicey's Catalogue of ballad-sheets, 1754. 288

D. Samuel Harward's ballad list, 1760 - 1775. 300

E. Extant collections of broadside ballads. 302
F. Ballad printer's catalogues, a check-list. 308
G. Folksongs of pre-eighteenth century broadside provenance. 312

Bibliography of works cited. 315

Map.

Midland England showing chapmens routes, printing establishments, and districts visited by folksong collectors before 1931. Between pp 274 - 5.

Preface and Ackowledgments.

At the outset this work was undertaken with the intention of complementing the guide compiled by G.Malcolm Laws, Jr., American Balladry From British Broadsides. It was soon realized that this was not a practical proposition since the broadside ballad trade in England was evidently of such a magnitude and over such a time span, undreamt of by Laws, that it would have to be the work of many years and many volumes to produce such a guide for English Balladry. It appeared then that the intial undertaking must be to document and explain the manner in which the continuity and development of the trade in ballads progressed without serious interruption, from the birth of printing and until the redundancy of the form in the twentieth century. That the development should disclose itself to be a direct business inheritance within the lower echelons of the printing trade was not altogether a new discovery. Previous work had conjectured the possibility without having the supporting evidence to substantiate the idea of three hundred years of uninterrupted continuity. This evidence was found to exist and is offered here. In addition it was discovered that the same inheritance was particularly responsible for those stock ballads that have formed the basis of the English folksong repertoire.

It has proved impossible to include all the data that has accumulated so that the following pages do not pretend to be in any way complete. It is intended however that the case should be comprehensively proven.

An important omission is the all but total avoidance of discussion of the role of chapbook literature. Even though its role in disseminating ballads is insignificant beside that of the broadside, the chapbook has made so many other contributions to folklore, including folktales, legends, mumming or ritual plays and various forms of superstitious belief and practice, that it must surely deserve independent treatment. Another omission is the discussion of broadside verse

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

forms, but Laws has so comprehensively treated this matter that it was felt that it would be merely repetitious here. The strictly bibliographical aspects of the trade in regard to typography and illustration have been disregarded here. The present writer is no expert on typography and felt that it would be more prudent to abstain from venturing forth in ignorance in what is a highly developed and technical field. Similarly, illustration has been the subject of many years of patient research by Dr. Leba Goldstein and it is hoped that her findings will be published in the near future.

I must acknowledge, with gratitude, the indirect assistance, criticism and encouragement of a number of patient friends. In particular, Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, who many years ago instilled in me a deep regard for English and Scottish folk-culture; Leslie Shepard, who has constantly and unwittingly played the role of devil's advocate; Professors Kenneth S. Goldstein, Dan Ben Amos, George Carey and D.K.Wilgus, who from the opposite side of the Atlantic have offered a continual stream of advice and information. At Cambridge, help, advice and hospitality has always been generously extended by Mrs. Helena M.Shire, Miss Joan Black, Messrs. P.M.W.Blayney, D.Harker and D.Mellett.

Without the help and advice of Messrs. J.C.T.Oates, D.McKitterick, B.Jenkins, Miss J.Houghton and many others at the University Library, Cambridge, this work would have been impossible. I am similarly indebted to the Pepysian Librarian, Dr. Robert Latham. So too to the librarians and staff at the following libraries: The Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge; Clare College Library, Cambridge; The British Museum; The Bodleian Library, Oxford; University libraries at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sheffield; Public Libraries at Birmingham, Derby, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Gloucester, Grimsby, King's Lynn, Lincoln, Liverpool, Manchester, Plymouth and Swindon; and to the curator of the Peterborough Museum.

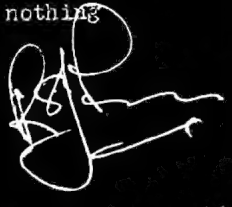
As a privileged member of the Library Committee of the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, I have enjoyed an unimpeded access

to its many treasures and I have therfore a particular debt to two of its former librarians, Mrs Ruth Noyes and Mr. David Bland, as well as to those members of the professional staff of the English Folk Dance and Song Society to whom this library is entrusted.

Above all I am indebted to a degree not easily expressed, to my supervisor, Professor John Holloway. His patience, tolerance and encouragement made this work possible; I hope it may in some way repay a portion of my debt.

Finally I must mention my wife and daughter who have withstood some years of family chaos with fortitude.

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.



References abbreviated in the text and a note on spellings.

The following abbreviations have been employed:

Arber.	Edward Arber, A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554 - 1640. 5vols. London and Birmingham, 1875 - 94.
Child.	Francis J.Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. 5 vols. Boston and New York, 1882 - 98.
OED.	Oxford English Dictionary.
PMLA.	Publications of the Modern Language Association.
Rollins.	Hyder E.Rollins, An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557 - 1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. Hatboro, Pa., 1967.
STC	A.W.Pollard & G.R.Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475 - 1640. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926.

Throughout the main text, titles of books and of printed ballads are underlined, whether these titles are stated in full or not. In addition, within quotations, words printed in italics are here under-ruled.

In quotations, the old fashioned usages of 'u', 'v', 's' and 'I' for 'J' have been rationalised to present day usage. Similarly, no attempt has been made here to particularise 'black-letter' usage.

Introduction

If asked, most people would be prepared to formulate some form of answer to the question, "What do you understand by the term 'folk-song'". The resultant and confusing array of possibilities suggested would invariably fall within three somewhat disordered groupings. The majority would suggest almost any song performed by a solo artist, especially if accompanied by an acoustic guitar. This view is fostered by the general lack of awareness of those who run the mass media services of radio and television, actively supported by the commercial interests of the recording industry. Many of these holding this opinion would whole-heartedly agree with the wearisome adage that is popularly ascribed to Louis Armstrong: "All music's folk-music; leastways I never heard of no horse making it". The more knowledgeable minority would subscribe to a concept associative with the criteria outlined by Cecil Sharp in 1907 and essentially restated in the definition of the International Folk Music Council in 1955. In many ways this latter view, narrowly exclusive by nature, is the more damaging to the furtherance of folk-song studies for it comes not from ignorance but from a studied acceptance of an oft repeated and much vaunted dictum that folk-song originates and is performed within an essentially non-literate community - oral transmission being an article of faith in this creed. It seems to be studiously over-looked that such a community has scarcely existed in England for upwards of at least two hundred years, a period during which almost our entire known archive of English folk-song has been collected together in the form of manuscripts, publications and recordings. The third possibility is that largely propagated by field collectors who have found the exclusiveness of the Sharp motivated definition quite impossible to reconcile and have therefore broadened it somewhat. The eclecticism with which they have formed the criteria within which field work is continued has a lack of precision that obviously

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

causes much irritation to the library pedant, though in fact the deviation from the 1955 definition is slight. To understand the way in which the present day collectors have arrived at their working criteria it is necessary to trace the origins of the descriptive term 'folk-song' from its beginnings and through the various stages where the idea was pulled and stretched in all directions at the whim of collector, scholar or lexicographer.

FOLK-SONG : VOLKSLIED : THE FOLK : 'THE VOLK'

The term 'folk-song' arose as a description of a particular phenomenon of rural culture and was not conceived with the idea of explicit definition - certainly not that obtained by lexicographical derivation from its roots. Thus it did not imply all the songs of all the people. It arose with the recognition that there existed amongst the largely non-literate or unsophisticated members of society, a particular genre of essentially narrative song that appeared to be perpetuated almost entirely as an oral tradition and alongside which there might or might not be other genres of song co-existing. However the word was invented in Germany, even though it had been inspired by an English collection of ballads and songs.

Volkslied, as a specific description, first appears in Johann Gottfried Herder's Essay on Ossian of 1773. Herder's enthusiastic endeavours to establish a cultural nationalism had been roused by his reading of Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry and he passionately harangued his fellow Germans for their lassitude;

> "You believe that we Germans, too, have more poems such as I quoted with the Scotch ballad. I do not only believe it, I know it. In more than one province I know of folk songs, songs in dialect, peasant songs which, as regards vivacity, and rhythm, and simplicity and strength of language, would certainly concede nothing to many of those of other nationalities. But who would collect them? Who would trouble about the songs of the people on the streets, in the alleys and fishmarkets, in the simple roundelay of the peasant folk,

about songs which are often without scansion and with bad rhymes? Who would collect them? Who would print them for our critics who are so clever at counting syllables and scansion? We would rather read, even though only for pastime, our modern beautifully printed poets. Let the French collect their old chansons! Let the English publish their old songs and ballads in magnificent volumes!"

Translation by Ergang.[1]

Here we find the first indication of who constitute the Volk though not as yet clearly stated. Herder saw in the speech and songs of the common people, an element necessary to the building of a national tradition or identity. His temerity in suggesting that the Volk was not an inarticulate mob but contained the creative source of a national culture was a revolutionary notion and as Barnard[2] has shown, presented an ideological armoury for those who later argued the case that democracy and nationalism were unitary. Identifying Herder's Volk presents some problems; occasionally it is the governed as distinct from the rulers or aristocracy, in the main however, the clear distinction is made between the Volk and intellectuals on the one hand, and the Volk and Pobel (rabble) on the other. The border-line between learned and ordinary folk was seen to be fluid but 'rabble' was clearly marked off as a social substratum apart from the Volk, as was, at the other end of the scale, the ruling aristocracy.

Thus we have two Volk elements which Herder distinguishes; the majority being das Volk der Burger and the minority, the intellectuals, das Volk der Gelehrsamkeit. The term 'Burger' embraced for Herder, all those occupations that form the substance of folk-song: the farmer, the fisherman, the craftsman, the artisan, the cobbler and so on. In fact all those who Herder felt were least affected by the process of 'civilisation', and who one conjectures, form the rural common people as distinct from the urban lower classes. Barnard suggests that Herder felt the Burger to be:

"the most useful and venerable part of the Volk, if not, indeed, the Volk proper.....The qualities he has in mind are features such as spontaneity, 'earthiness', Naturverbundenheit, a kind of naturalness and simplicity found in children." 3

Since Herder nowhere appears to suggest [illegible] criterion, 'rabble' appears to indicate a [illegible] than a specific economic class;

> "Volk does not mean the rabble of the streets, which never sings and creates, but roars and mutilates." 4

> "To be a folk poet it is not essential to be one of the rabble or that he sing for the rabble; just as the fact that it was in the mouth of the people does not discover the most noble poetry." 5

Again the suggestion that the rabble is particularly associated with the town and city. Throughout his development of the concept of the Volk, Herder appears also to include the serfs with the Burger and for this reason it might best be described as the labouring part of the nation particularly in the provincial, rural regions. It must be remarked at once that this social group, (if it now truly exists in fact) does not take to clear transposition into modern society, despite the earnest desire of certain recent writers upon the subject of folk-song to do just that. Certainly it is not exemplified in the modern industrial proletariat:

> "For what impressed Herder most was not chiefly the size of the Burgertum, nor its productive value, not even the degree of economic exploitation and political oppression to which it was subjected, although all these circumstances did not leave him unconcerned. It was rather the conviction that the working folk were the 'national' salt of the earth, the most genuine expression of national character, that really fired his enthusiasm, his zeal for political reform. He saw in them the embodiment of all that was natural and original in a nation. It is a moot point whether he would have associated these characteristics with the modern factory worker." 6

In 1778 and 1779, Herder published a collection of folk poetry entitled Stimmen der Volker in Leidern, generally referred to simply as Volkslieder, to which collection his friend Goethe contributed from ballads he had collected in Alsace. During his final years, Herder, together with his wife continued to gather folk-songs and immediately prior to his death they had outlined a scheme whereby the collected songs and ballads were organized according to country, period, language

and nationality. His whole approach can be seen as a reaction against classicism and particularly those classicists who contemptuously disregarded anything of the Volk as being unworthy of attention and nothing more than the expression of primitive and simple peoples:

> "It will remain eternally true that if we have not Volk we shall have no public, no nationality, no language, no literature of our own which will live and work in us. Unless our literature is founded on our Volk we shall mechanically compose romances, odes, heroic epics, [illegible] and kitchen hymns of a kind that nobody understands, no one wants, no one really feels. Our classical literature is like a bird of paradise, showy in plumage, pert in aspects, all flight and elevation, but without any true footing on German soil." [7]

Herder's wholesome and passionately felt criticism is seen to be fundamentally nationalistic and directed specifically at the literary content of folk-song. When, in England, attention was directed to the collection of folk-song again the motivation was nationalistic but this time the movement was essentially involved with the music of folk-song. Herder saw in the literature of England, and notably in the genius of Shakespeare in particular and Elizabethan and Jacobean drama in general, the knowledge, understanding and use of popular culture best exemplified. Goethe was to be indoctrinated to follow this example. In England a hundred years later, musicians looked hard at German music and decided that what was needed was a national musical identity, one which could be found in folk-song. Out of this movement came many of Vaughan Williams' most widely acclaimed compositions.

On 17 April 1847, Howitt's Journal employed the first known usage of Herder's Volkslied in translation;

> "The Three Little Roses. A Germans Folk's Song.[8]
> Translated by Mary Howitt." p.212.

It was not until 1870 however that the current form was employed, when W.E.A. Axon published his Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire. Between Herder and Axon, there appeared eight collections of folk-songs, i.e. five collections which gave both the collected text and tune for each item included and three which printed only the texts.[9] In all

cases they purported to be compiled totally or in part from [illegible] gathered from the singing of the peasantry. In addition, [illegible] the publication of William Chappell's, Popular Music of the [illegible] which included, perhaps rather reluctantly, a small number of orally collected folk-songs; items that were later to be [illegible] when his work was re-edited by Professor Wooldridge in [illegible] and retitled as The English Popular Music.

Studiously avoiding a literal translation of the German term, Carl Engel, in his work on 'National Music', published in 1866, represents the initial stage in the transference of attention from folk-song text to folk-song melody or folk-music. Whilst his work does concern itself with all aspects of folk-song, one is never in any doubt that it is the melodic features that are Engel's prime concern. Despite this one-sidedness, the work contains the first detailed description of some of the literary features and peculiarities of folk-song as well as musicological analyses. The rationale within which Engel worked is clearly stated;

> "The term National Music implies that music, which, appertaining to a nation or tribe, whose individual emotions and passions it expresses, exhibits certain peculiarities more or less characteristic, which distinguish it from the music of any other nation or tribe. *
>
> (footnote) *The Germans call it Volksmusik, a designation which is very appropriate, and which I should have rendered folk-music, had this word been admissable." 10

This re-echoing of Herder and his spirit of nationalism, whether conscious or not, is later re-iterated by the identification of the 'folk'. Had Engel been as closely in touch with textual European scholarship as he clearly was with the musical side of things, he would not have found the nationalism quite so easy to defend, for scholars like Sven Grundtvig in Denmark had already shown the international diffusion of common narrative themes in balladry to be a feature of much of the then known corpus of folk-song. This latter feature was

to be even more thoroughly explored in Professor Child's great compilation, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Naturally, the material to hand was much less complete and it also received little comparative analysis. Only recently has the magnitude of international melodic borrowing been clearly demonstrated and this work, the preserve of the ethnomusicologist, has but barely started.

The provenance and performance of National Music, Engel firmly placed amongst the common people and like Herder before him felt that it was with this section of society that one encountered the truly national idiosyncracies in manners, customs and prejudices. Similarly he listed the social groups amongst whom he felt one should search for the genuine expression of national culture:

> "In most European countries it is therefore among the working classes; the artisans, the field labourers, and the country people in general, that we must look out for genuine specimens of National Music." 11

He continued, to make the distinction between the circumstances of having a National music co-existing with a scientifically cultivated music that has no national bias since (he asserts) the educated of one country are more in accordance with the educated of another than they are with their own peasantry, and the conditions that apply in a barbaric or primitive nation where music remains in an infantile state and cannot be considered to exist as an aesthetically cultivated art. By omission, we are led to suppose that Engel, like Herder before him was satisfied that folk-song was the perogative of the rural labouring classes or at least those members of the common people who did not inhabit the large cities. This view is re-inforced by his comments on the nature, and implicitly origin, of the music;

> "The chief advantage consists, however, in the fact that National music, be it ever so artless and simple, is in most cases, what music in the first place always ought to be - a faithfull expression of feelings. The reason of this is easily explained. The shepherd tending his flock, the soldier on the march, the

fisherman mending his nets, the labourer in the cornfield, has no inducement to sing his favorite tune, unless the [illegible] emotions incite him to it. His musical effusions [illegible] fore from the heart, or, in other words, they are [illegible] true. The professional musician, on the other hand, has many inducements to compose or perform music which he does not really feel." [12]

This observation strikes deeply at the most crucial aspect of folk-song - its performance. It is the singer-audience relationship which most clearly distinguishes the sophisticated art performer or the music-hall singer from his unaffected cousin, the folk-singer. The role of the folk-singer is so inextricably woven into the life of the community in which he lives and works, and to whom he performs, that it becomes inseparable from that community. Both audience and performer in these circumstances participate in a shared experience which involves a common stock of ideas and experiences, fashioned from mutually understood symbols and signs. Even in the most contrived conditions, the art performer can hardly ever have such a bond with his audience and only loosely with his repertoire itself.

It seems likely that Engel's book was amongst the many influences that gave rise to the growing activities of folk-song collectors throughout the British Isles. Other factors were the formation of the Folklore Society and the rising interest of contributors to Notes and Queries. Remarkably few of these songs however were published prior to 1888 when the word 'folk-song' finally appeared in the title of a collection; that gathered together by Heywood Sumner in the north of England.[13] A small number of English folk-songs had appeared between the date of Axon's Lancashire collection and Sumner's but they all studiously avoided the appellation. (By folk-song is implied an orally communicated text and tune, the authenticity of which appears to be sound and free from excessive editorial embellishment.) Meanwhile a small number of works containing verse were quite happy to employ 'folk-song' to describe their contents. In 1875, Encyclopaedia Britanica asserts:

"It was not till the publication of [illegible]
and Tea Table Miscellany, and of [illegible]
serious effort was made to recover [illegible]
from the recitation of old people who still [illegible]" [14]

Not, one notes, the singing of old people but [illegible], an uncommon method of traditional delivery more associated with the performer who has acquired his repertoire from print rather than oral transmission. Meanwhile Miss M.H. Mason called the contents of her book, 'Country Songs',[15] Bruce and Stokes referred to their [illegible] as 'Minstrelsy'[16] and in spite of Sumner's usage it was seven years and seven millenniums before standardization finally arrived. With standardisation of course came the need for a concise definition. In 1889, The Century Dictionary offered two possibilities:

"folk-song (tr. G. volkslied) 1/ A song of the people; a song based on a legendary or historical event, or some incident of common life, the words and generally the music of which have originated among the common people and are exclusively used by them.
2/ A song written in imitation of the simple and artless style of such a popular song."

Cecil Sharp felt that the first possibility was rendered faulty by its qualification, "and generally the music..." but otherwise would have provided an excellent definition. In general one sympathises with this view; the qualification would not have aroused such criticism had it been placed before "the words" and disassociated from "the music". Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary satisfied Sharp far more:

"A song or ballad originating and current among the common people, and illustrating the common life with its interest and enthusiasms as derived from legend or story; also a lyric poem on a popular theme in the style of such a ballad."

The useful insistence upon origins explicit in both these statements clarified for contemporaneous readers, students and collectors, the distinction between National music with its connotation of patriotic songs exemplified by Dibdin's compositions, and the unaffected music that was being published. From the collectors point of view specifically, it further emphasised the distinction Engel had sought to make between

Volkslied - song originating with the folk, [illegible] - folk-transmitted song, i.e. popular [illegible] intended it and Wooldridge made it.

With the foundation of the Folk Song [illegible] in 1898, a movement was started, whose primary aim was the collection, preservation and publication of folk-songs, ballads and tunes. By 1903, Cecil Sharp had joined Vaughan Williams, Gardiner and the Hammond brothers and the above mentioned English collectors. In Sharp the movement found a theoretician who quickly gathered an intimate circle of disciples around him and as Miss Dean-Smith remarks:

> "...there was confirmed in Cecil Sharp a concept of the 'folk', ideal yet definate, which in his mind.... cleaved irrevocably apart the 'folk' and the 'popular'. But the difference between them was to be felt rather than explained, and to transmit the distinction to those who did not feel it had already proved, and continued to prove, well nigh impossible." 16b

Between 1903 and 1907, Sharp collected approximately 1500 folk-songs and based upon his work, which was largely carried out in the county of Somerset, felt sure enough of his ground to write a general treatise on the nature and evolution of English folk-song, in the process putting forward certain ideas towards a definitive description. It remained the most authoritive statement for many years and still exerts an influence that many feel to be prejudicial to candid discussion

CONTINUITY - VARIATION - SELECTION

In defining folk-song, Sharp was insistent upon the antithesis between the music of the town and city and that of rural areas. He saw it as the difference between:

> "..the conscious and intentional use of faculties which have been especially cultivated and developed.."

and

> "..the spontaneous and intuitive exercise of untrained faculties....." 17

Central to such a statement was the conviction that the folk itself

creates rather than adopts. Thus is was necessary to keep the possibility that folk-song could originate in the cultivated songs of a previous age; that the once popular songs of town and city, having permeated to the countryside, had been taken up and polished by the folk-singer. As evidence that this transference could not have taken place Sharp points to the technical differences between folk and cultivated music and the lack of original sources amongst the sheet music and song-books of the past. Neither of these arguments were particularly apt, since the technical aspects can be shown to be the effective tools of adaptation or the already present features of broadside production or ballad opera composition. In fact as students became more interested in comparative research, both texts and tunes were found to exist in cultivated sources back to the earliest liturgical music and in a recognizably kindred state that put the cross relationship beyond question. Bronson strikingly demonstrates this twice in the early pages of his monumental collection of The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads. The earliest recorded tune for the ballad 'Riddles Wisely Expounded' is shown to exhibit a remarkable melodic parallel with the 'Benedictus qui venit' from the Sanctus of the mass, 'Orbis Factor'. The latter belongs to the eleventh century and the ballad tune was first printed by D'Urfey in 1719/20. Further liturgical relatives are noted by Bronson from somewhat later chant. The second case involves one of the most widely sung ballads today, 'Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight', where a common twentieth century melodic pattern is related to the tenth century Sanctus of the Easter Mass, 'Lux et Origo'.[18]

The insistence upon origins was largely superfluous as Sharp had demonstrated a satisfactory distinction between folk and 'cultured' music in his remarks upon the fallacy of communal creation. This latter idea had been formulated by the American scholar, Francis Gummere in 1894 and averred that ballads were created as a consequence of group composition

at one particular time and during the action of [illegible]

1921, when Louise Pound in her Poetic Origins and the Ballad [illegible]

destroyed the case comprehensively, American scholarship was [illegible]

entirely pre-occupied with the rights and wrongs of Gummere's theory.

Sharp replaced the term communal origin with an idea that was called

communal re-creation by Phillips Barry, one American scholar and field-

worker who seems not to have become embroiled in the general fracas.

Sharp's attitude was simplistic, perhaps overly so:

> "The folk-song must have a beginning, and that beginning must have been the work of an individual. Common sense compels us to assume this much. Otherwise we should have to predicate a communal utterance that was at once simultaneous and unanimous;.....Whether or not the individual in question can be called the author is another matter altogether. Probably not, because the continual habit of 'changing what they do not like' must, in the course of time, ultimately amount to the transference of the authorship from the individual to the community." [19]

So the 'metaphysical moonshine' of what Wilgus calls Gummere's Spencerian evolution is replaced by a Darwinian concept[20] - the communal genesis is replaced by communal usage which through the process of oral transmission continually re-creates. It therefore follows that the individual who first composed a particular song is of interest only in so far as his composition demonstrates the archetype out of which the folk-song eventually evolved. He did not compose a folk-song and it matters not therefore whether he was a professional minstrel, an Elizabethan courtier, a music-hall performer or James Catnach's hack writer; only when the composition had been subjected to the inevitable changes and alterations inherent in the process of oral transmission, only when it had been communally re-created, did it become folk-song. In this sense the differentiation Volkslied - volkstumliches Lied is mere tautology. That the folk employ a range of specific forms or structures demonstrates only usage and the process of re-creation. It also demonstrates a certain conservatism, a guarded reserve that is suspicious of the 'new-fangled' and affects not only the folk culture but all its social involvements.

This conservatism within the process of oral transmission is highlighted when one considers the implications of repeated or serial reproduction. A simple analogy is the game of 'Gossip' which involves the transfer to a partner of a whispered message and so on around a group of people. At any one stage of its journey, the message compared with the original will show evidence of corruption. Generally the more transfers that are made, the more corrupt the message will become. At any stage the transmitter can be said to be the author of his message since one assumes he will have corrupted it to some degree, either by rationalizing something not clearly heard of by inventing a new factor to fill a gap. However he cannot truly be considered the author for all previous transfers have directedthe form and content of his message to a large degree. Depending upon the length of the chain, the final statement may well be completely divorced from the original, yet the first message was the archetype. The process is knowmas serial reproduction and the type of folklore that is customarily transmitted within the family group is passed on through the generations in this manner. 'Gossip' is generally played by a comparatively small number of persons over a matter of minutes and the message itself usually short. Transmission of folk-song is more complex; one informant might well pass on to many singers a long ballad and this process could cover a period of time perhaps as long as half a century. There is thus a strong possibility of the informant altering his ballad during this time and the change of his friends obtaining different versions even at this initial state is great. The process of transfer from one person directly to a number is termed repeated reproduction.

A - B - C - D - E - F etc.

Serial Reproduction

Repeated Reproduction

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

At any stage of serial or repeated reproduction a [illegible] can proceed by either method. The result is a [illegible] of great complexity which is complicated by [illegible] in the form of newly created songs starting their process of re-creation and the persistent reinforcement of [illegible]. The possibilities are bewildering and the comparative uniformity of the records of folk-song collection made even more difficult to explain if one subscribes to the notion of a pure orally transmitted tradition. The continuity can only be due to the effect of two elements; firstly the structural consistencies of both tunes and texts being imposed by the performers and the constantly available and reluctantly acknowledged reinforcement provided by printed broadsides and slip-songs.

Despite the obvious widespread influence of broadsides, (Sharp had himself formed a not inconsiderable collection and was familiar with Baring Gould's even more extensive library of sheets) the evolution of English folk-song was envisaged by Sharp as being quintessentially a process of oral transmission which in turn was governed by three cardinal principles; continuity, variation and selection. These principles were later reaffirmed by a commission (perhaps not altogether representative of the scholars of the day) of the International Folk Music Council at their Saõ Paulo conference in 1954. As far as folk creation was concerned there was a slight compromise which allowed latitude for the inclusion of material whose sophisticated authorship was known but even so the emphasis remained directed at origins and implicitly, structure.

> "Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music servives.

(1) The term can be applied to music that has evolved rudimentary beginnings by a community environment by popular and art music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community.

(2) The term does not cover composed popular music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and reproduced unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community that gives it the folk character." 21

The apparent dichotomy of continuity and variation is seen as the great problem by Sharp who states; "Insistence of type must be the rule, and variation the exception."[22] Thus continuity is seen as the positive factor in oral transmission and variation, the negative. The study of diversity of form has a quite natural and more obvious attraction than the study of consistency, but as Bronson rightly indicates, the collection and demonstration of the process of change and its varied manifestations is a cul-de-sac or at best a road to fair Kilfland - attractive but destructively consuming. The proliferation of exotic strays in published English folk-song collections thus teaches us little of the mechanism of traditional usage.

> "To devote our efforts to multiplying examples of difference is to discover only the fact of perpetual change - which is axiomatic. But to study the evidence of resistance to change is to pursue law and order, to turn from disintegrative to the integrative forces." 23

Accepting the significance of Sharp's statement, it is disturbing to find his supporting evidence less than satisfactory. As an illustration of the tenacity of melodic memory he cites two independent informants who had learnt a particular tune thirty years prior to his visits and had retained the precise form of it in their performance; they did not, in either case have any more than one verse of the text. It is a most interesting account of melodic fidelity but in the light of the mass of data left us by contemporary and later field-workers it is almost unique and as such it can be of but limited worth in demonstrating continuity. Isolated phenomena can hardly show general usage. Interestingly one of the most outstanding examples of such an isolated tenacityto original

form and structure is the still widely sung ballad 'Thunder and the Dark-Eyed Sailor' which is persistent in its melodic forms and its text. The song was, it transpires, widely circulated as an item sung in a late ballad opera and the text is one of the commonest broadsides issued - there being very many diverse publications by printers all over England and covering a period of fifty years or more. Lloyd in his Folk Song in England makes the point that this latter song can be seen to owe its textual origin to Catnach's broadsideof the 1830's.[24]

It is important at this point to emphasise that Sharp did not intend to write nor did he purport to have written a definitive and dogmatic statement,and in his introduction he makes this clear. That his disciples and later students have accepted his work as dogma does not reflect upon Sharp, only upon the students themselves.

His second case study of continuity at work is purely textual. Henry Larcombe's version of 'Robin Hood and the Tanner' he found was textually the same as eleven verses of a late seventeenth century black-letter broadside and assuming this old broadside to be unique, he felt that oral continuity of two hundred years was here demonstrated. In fact it can be shown that the ballad version in question had been circulated in the form of broadside or garland well into the nineteenth century. In other words it is not inconceivable that Larcombe himself may have been in possession of a printed copy at one time or another,or alternatively his informant may have owned such a sheet. Certainly the idea of a two hundred year continuity by purely oral transmission must be questioned.[25]

It is unlikely that experienced collectors would argue with Sharp's contention that the singer considers it a point of honour to perpetuate tradition in the same form as he has found it. This at least is the intention of all those performers who are conscious of being tradition bearers. It is most importantly a matter of textual transmission rather

than melodic. As Sharp himself was forced to admit when dealing with the problem of variation, the folk-singer attaches far greater importance to the words of his song than to its tune. Thus it is generally true that the singer employs a melody as a vehicle upon which to present his narrative. Sharp even suggests that the singer is unconscious of the melody - a fact, if true, that would destroy any pretension to continuity as a factor in melodic transmission. It now seems more likely that the melody, though not unconsciously held, is treated loosely. To some extent this may be due to the almost impossibly difficult task of exactly reproducing a tune by oral transfer and exact reproduction one implies the full range of audible phenomena; pitch, contour, rhythmic and ornamental nuances. The looseness of the melody is also brought about by the desire of the performer to introduce stylistic devices which permit, consciously, the use of subtle intra-melodic variations without the gross disturbance of the melody's shape or overall contour. If the narrative is sacrosanct, the tune - the medium of delivery - is not and nor can it be so, for a narrative tradition which strictly Adhered to a single melodic line, unadorned and without variations, would by its monotony, mesmerize the audience or simply bore it. In either case the audience would be distracted from the narrative flow. Melodic creativity is thus seen to be an essential function of performance even though the audience may well be unconscious of its presence. Whether the singer is similarly unconscious of the employment of such stylistic devices has been the subject of much debate, yet in the case of the more gifted singers that have been recorded, it is unthinkable.

Sharp's final illustration of continuity at work again demonstrates a strictly textual continuity between two ballads, 'Edom o' Gordon' and 'Captain Care'.[26]

If Sharp has established his principle strictly then it is only in relation to texts and then only if the reinforcement of print is acknowledged. As a feature of oral transmission the same is true, especially melodically, being dependant upon a few [illegible] gathered exceptions; unless, that is, one realistically accepts as satisfactory evidence, continuity in the form of internal structural trade-marks, not insisting upon absolute fidelity. It begins to appear probable that a broadside reinforced tradition is synonymous with continuity and pure oral transmission a condition of impurity. Continuity can be seen to be effective in perpetuating a consistent thematic content and accepted stanzaic structures but there the precision of repetition ends. Extreme corruption is avoided because of these latter internal controls. Wholesale classification of collected data will provide the evidence that cannot be accepted fully when it is offered piece-meal.

By the principle of selection, Sharp simply meant that the taste of the community would reject that which did not appeal and retain that which did. He posited two possible sources of attraction; an appeal to the sense of beauty and an appeal to the sense of expression. Apart from the general vagueness of the terms, one wonders just how the community exerted its sanctions upon the individual singer. Sharp passionately embraced the idea of nationalism in folksong and so he largely dissipated his argument on the principle of selection by an absurd speculation that Celtic people will select sensuous material whilst Anglo-Saxons prefer self-expression. This notion is similar to the idea that has been mooted concerning the preferred rhythms of folksong. Thus the Irish are said to prefer songs in 3/4 time, the Scots in 6/8 and the English in 4/4 or common time. Whilst there may be a degree of truth in these preferences, they do not constitute a rule or principle by which traditional practice is perpetuated.

Replacing Sharp's 'definition' of folksong with an alternative has not been attempted seriously. Most collectors today muscribe to the adage that it is like the elephant, we know what it looks like but we can not define it. The most authoritive statement is contained in George Herzog's lengthy article in the Standard Dictionary of Folklore.[27]

Today, the student and collector of folksong is more concerned with the actuality of performance and the performer's relationship with his audience and his repertoire, than with an individual text or tune. It is a movement away from text and onto context, but it has its pitfalls. The situation existing when a collector records data from his informants is almost always an artificial one, and until folklorists resort to the unsavoury practice of 'bugging' their sources, it is hard to see how this problem can be overcome. The questionable morality of this latter practice has prevented its adoption by all but the most wilful of collectors, the latter seeing it as no different to the accepted practices of the 'candid' photographer.

Present day studies are still essentially based upon the premiss that oral transmission is the raison d'etre of the folksong's existence. Paradoxically there may be increasingly good grounds for accepting this idea. The broadside ballad, as will be shown in the following pages, developed in the sixteenth century and steadily expanded to a zenith of influence in the early nineteenth century; it collapsed at the beginning of the twentieth century. It will be demonstrated that the availability of broadside ballads supported, reinforced and enlarged the folksong repertoire to a degree not hitherto suspected. Furthermore, the disappearance of the form is reflected in tradition by the increasingly deteriorating structure of the old ballads. The folk-singer today provides the collector with more fragmentary texts than complete ballads and this new situation must be largely due to the lack of available broadside reinforcement.

If one accepts that the broadside has played this important role, then many questions present themselves. Perhaps the most crucial is why has only a limited proportion (fifteen percent or so), been perpetuated within the folksong tradition? To answer this problem it will be necessary to identify all those songs that have appeared as broadside ballads and as folksongs. When these have been classified, either in a motif, type or narrative-theme index, then the same procedure will have to be applied

to the residue of broadsides and folksongs in determining [illegible] idiosyncracies appearing in either class. Since the [illegible] data is so vast; at least thirty thousand variants of folksongs and well in excess of one hundred thousand broadside ballads, [illegible] going to require many hands and many years of [illegible]. Initially it has to be demonstrated that the broadside ballad and the folksong have been mutually dependent upon one another.

1. Ergang, R.R., Herder and the Foundation of German Nationalism, Columbia University, New York, 1931, p.200.

2. Barnard, F.M., Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism. Oxford University Press, 1965).

3. ibid. p.74.

4. Ergang, op.cit., p.195.

5. ibid. p.198.

6. Barnard, op.cit. p.75.

7. Ergang, op.cit., p.203.

8. Oxford English Dictionary, Supplement and Bibliography - 'Folk-song'.

9. The following five collections gave the airs to which the songs were sung:

Gilbert (formerly Giddy), Davies, Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the tunes to which they were formerly sung in the West of England. London, 1822.

Gilbert (formerly Giddy), Davies. Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the tunes to which they were formerly sung in the West of England. Together with Two Ancient Ballads, A Dialogue, etc. London, 1823.

Sandys, William. Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern, including the most popular in the West of England, and the airs to which they are sung....London, 1833.

(Broadwood, Rev. John). Old English Songs, as now sung by the peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex, and collected by one who has learnt them by hearing them Sung every Christmas from early childhood, by The Country People, who go about to the Neighbouring Houses, singing, or "Wassailing" as it is called, at that season. The Airs are set to Music exactly as they are now sung, to rescue them from oblivion, and to afford a specimen of genuine Old English Melody: and the Words are given in their original rough state, with an occasional slight alteration to render the sense intelligible. Harmonized for the Collector, in 1843, by G.A. Dusart, organist to the Chapel of Ease at Worthing. London, published for the Collector by Balls and Co., 408 Oxford Street, for private circulation.

Jones, Ernest. Cheshire Provincial Melodies, London(?) N.D.

The following appeared without tunes:

Bell, John. Rhymes of the Northern Bards. Newcastle, 1812.

Dixon, James Henry. Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England, taken down from oral recitation.... No.42 of the Percy Society publications, London 1846. This collection re-edited by Robert Bell, with additions, and published London, 1857.

Husk, William Henry. Songs of the Nativity; being Christmas Carols.....London: John Camden Hotten, (1868).

10. Engel, Carl. An Introduction to the Study of National Music comprising Researches into Popular Songs, Traditions, Customs, London, 1866, p.1.

11. ibid. p.3.

12. ibid. p.8.

13. Sumner, Heywood, The Besom Maker and other Country Folk Songs. London, 1888.

14. Oxford English Dictionary - Supplement. op.cit.

15. Mason, M.H. Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs, Both Words and Tunes from tradition. London, (1878).

16a Bruce, Rev. J. Collingwood and John Stokoe, Eds. Northumbrian Minstrelsy;.....Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1882.

16b Dean-Smith, Margaret. A Guide to English Folk Song Collections. The University Press of Liverpool in association with the English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1954. p.14.

17. Sharp, Cecil J., English Folk-Song - Some Conclusions, Fourth (revised) edition. Mercury Books, London, 1965, p.5.

18. Bronson, Bertrand Harris. The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads. Vol. I., Princeton University Press, 1959. p.3 and p.39.

19. Sharp, op.cit., pp.12-13.

20. Wilgus, D.K., Anglo-American Folk-Song Scholarship Since 1898. Rutgers University Press, 1959. p.60. The first quarter of Wilgus' book deals comprehensively with the debate over origins. See pp.3-122.

21. Sharp, op.cit., p.xvi quoting Journal of the International Folk Music Council, VII, p.23, Cambridge, 1955.

22. Sharp, op.cit., p.21.

23. Bronson, Bertrand Harris. The Ballad as Song, University of California Press, 1969, p.145.

24. Lloyd, A.L., Folk Song in England. London, 1967, p.24.

25. For example see the garlands issued in London by J. Marshall in Aldermanbury Church Yard, c. 1790; T. Sabine, c.1800; Howard and Evans, c.1810; or at Kidderminster, c. 1810 by Gower and Pennall; at York by Thomas Wilson and Son, 1817; at Stirling by C. Randall, 1811 and later by Macnie in the same city; at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by Fordyce, c. 1750 etc.

26. Sharp, op.cit., (quoting the introduction to William Motherwell's Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern, published in Glasgow, 1827). pp.23-24.

27. Funk & Wagnalls Dictionary of Folklore... Vol.2, pp.1032-50.

Part I.

The broadside ballad printer.

Chapter 1 - The beginnings of the trade

Ballads were circulated in manuscript long before the art of printing reached England and it is certain that they were amongst the earliest products of the press. The earliest extant fragment of the trade appears to be the ballad Flodden Field written by [illegible] in the year 1513. Amongst the earliest practices of the bookbinder was that of fabricating the stiff core of the covers from several sheets of paper pasted together. In the garret of a farmhouse at [illegible] in the county of Dorset was found a copy of The Romance of [illegible] printed in Paris in 1513, the book appears to have been bound up in England for when the covers were stripped several sheets of printed paper were found and these comprised A ballads of the [illegible] together with several leaves making up a unique prose account of the battle of Flodden. They are now preserved in the British Museum. The style is typical of later broadside printing, bearing under the title a rude woodcut of two sparring knights followed by the text, without stanzaic divisions but in rhyming couplets. In strict bibliographical terms it is incorrect to refer to this ballad as a broadside as it appears to have been originally a folded sheet or 'chapbook' as do also the two early printed copies of A Lytel Geste of Robyn Hode,[1] a copy of Eglamour and one or two other ballad type poems by John Lydgate and William Dunbar.[2]

The next trace of the ballad trade we have is tantalising, for from the Oxford booksellar, John Dorne, we learn that in the year 1520 he sold one hundred and ninety unnamed "ballets" at a price of one halfpenny each, seven for threepence or twelve for fivepence.[3] We know nothing of these ballads - who printed them, their content, or even how many different titles Dorne stocked, for the largest batch sold in one day was twenty-three.[4] Furthermore we are not even certain about the format of these ballads. It is certain that the trade had grown to some appreciable

extent by the year 1533, for then was issued the first of a long line of proclamations attempting to suppress the trade of "fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue"[5] and in 1536 there was arrested one John Hogon, for singing a political ballad.[6]

The first true broadside ballad that is still extant is generally accepted to be A Ballad on the Downfall of Thomas Lord Cromwell printed in London in 1540, and this sheet, together with many others of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, is to be found in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. The most consistent feature of these early sheets is their preoccupation with affairs of state politics and religion which in an age of great social upheaval is perhaps not unusual. However with the relegation of the traditional and professional minstrel into the ranks of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars, during the early years of Elizabeth I the subject matter of broadsides expanded to take in all manner of songs, from prognostications and frightful news of monstrous births to merry love songs and traditional ballads.

None of these broadsides that have survived from the period before 1557 have any relationship to the body of material designated folksong though it is inconceivable that all the sheets that survive from after this date were first issues. We know for certain that folksong existed before 1538 for in Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes, Miles Coverdale complains wistfully:

> "Wolde God that our Mynstrels had none other thynge to play upon, neither our carters and plowmen other thynge to whistle upon, save psalmes, hymns, and such like godly songs....And if women at the rockes, and spinnynge at the wheles, had none other songes to pass their tyme withall, than such as Moses' sister..... songs before them, they should be better occupied than with 'Hey, nonny, nonny — Hey, trolly, lolly,' and such like fantasies." [7]

Five years later a more stringent measure was taken in the form of an "Act for the Advancement of True Religion and for the Abolishment of the Contrary"[8] which sought to purge the realm of "all such books,

ballads, rhymes, and songs, as be pestiferous [illegible] it was entirely ineffectual.

On May 4, 1557, a charter was granted to the Guild of Stationers granting them a monopoly of printing and giving their Master and Wardens the right to search shops and houses for illegal publications, to seize and destroy books and type, and to imprison the offenders. From this date the Stationers' Company kept a register to maintain an accurate record of the annual cash accounts of the Company's wardens. Books and broadsides printed by members of the Company were entered in the registers; in general each entry giving details of the copyright holders name (this could be either printer or bookseller), the title of the book or broadside and the fee charged for registration. From the incorporation of the Company to around the year 1588, the standard charges for registration were fourpence for a single sheet (i.e. ballad or prose broadside) and sixpence for a book. As a general rule therefore, any entry at a fee of fourpence denotes a broadside even where the entry rather loosely refers to "copy" or even "book[s]". Similarly an entry for a ballad at a price of sixpence refers to a book or perhaps more correctly, a "chapbook". From a study of the Stationers' Registers it is possible to obtain a reasonably thorough understanding of the activities of the ballad publishers from the year 1557 until 1712, this latter date being the occasion of the last detailed entry of ballad titles. Professor Hyder E. Rollins in 1924, compiled an Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Stationer' Registers (1557-1709),[9] omitting only the last entry made to Charles Brown and Thomas Norris on 20 September 1712 from the full list of ballad titles in the Registers.[10] His index gives details of a total of three thousand and eighty-one entries but this should on no account be taken as a realistic figure for the number of ballads printed during the one hundred and fifty-two years it covers. Quite apart from the hiatus in the Registers from 1571 to 1577, there

are a number of entries which do not specify titles but merely state that 'x' number of ballads were registered on that day. In addition there was no real compunction to register a ballad after 1591 when the Company appears to have ceased worrying unduly about unlicensed ballad printing. Again, between 1557 and 1560 the possibility is that the Company had not flexed its muscles against the pirate printing of ballads or alternatively had received so many copies for registering that it could not bother to maintain complete official records. The method of registration is illustrated by an entry of 20 February 1585 which reads:

> "Abram Cotton Receaved of him for printinge A ballet intituled A warnynge to wytches entred by commaudement from master warde newbery vnder his own handwrytinge on ye backside of ye wrytten copie.....iiij^d" 11

and from Rollins (131) we learn:

> "(796 ballads were reported as being in the Cubberde in our Counsell chambre....as apereth in the whyte boke for that yere anno 1560," I.143)" 12

This can only mean that there were seven hundred and ninety six ballads awaiting registration or held as a result of a refusal on the part of the Company to license them. It is also within the bounds of possibility that they had been confiscated though one would have expected an entry detailing such action. At no time did the Stationers' Company act as warehousemen for their members which makes it unlikely that this was ballad stock.

Initially the function of the registration procedure appears to have been twofold; firstly it established the ownership of copyright and secondly (and less effectively) it ensured that only licensed publications were printed and sold. An infringement of registration requirements was dealt with by the levying of a loose scale of fines or, if the misdemeanor was considered serious, the Company would confiscate the printed matter and on rare occasions the presses and type of the offending printer. After 1595 there were almost no instances of fines

being imposed for unlicensed printing alone. True, if a printer [illegible] something for his press that was obscene or seditious, he would [illegible] other things be charged with unlicensed printing but the act of unlicensed printing alone was not treated as an offence. One [illegible] reason for this was that anyone who printed an unlicensed work that proved [illegible] would be plagiarised without having any recourse to law. Even during those years when fines were imposed upon printers for issuing unlicensed ballads, the sum involved was not high:

> "John Sherman fined 12d. "for pryntinge of a balett without lycense," June 14, 1559, I.71. 12a.
>
> John Awdelay fined 2s. for printing two ballads without license, 1558-59, I, 101. 13.
>
> Wm. Pekering fined 16d. for printing "a ballett without lycence," 1567-68, I, 367. 14.
>
> Tho. East fined 1s. for printing a ballad for Wm. Pekering without license, 1567-68, I, 367. 15.
>
> Jno. Alde fined 5s. for printing three ballads without license, August 2, 1578, II. 847. 16.
>
> Rich. Jones fined 3s. 4d. "for printinge a ballad without Lycence," June 15, 1579, II. 840. 17.

though Edward White and William Barley had reason to complain over the severity of their peers:

> "Ed. White ordered to pay 5s. "for printinge a ballad without Licens," May 12, 1594, II. 822. 18.
>
> Wm. Barley fined 40s. "for printinge iij ballades and a booke" without license, Aug. 18, 1595, II. 823. 19.

Infringement of copyright was always considered to be a far more serious matter than unauthorised printing and the penalties incurred by any guilty printer were correspondingly higher:

> "Owen Rogers fined 20d. for printing "halfe a Reame of ballettes of a nother mans Copye by waye of Desceate," 1558-59, I. 101. 20
>
> Ed. White fined 2s. for printing a ballad owned by Rich. Jones, June 15, 1579, II. 850. 21
>
> Tho. Millington ordered to pay Tho. Creede 3s. 4d. for printing without license a ballad owned by the latter and fined by the Stationers' Company 2s. 6d. "for amendes for ye seid wrong," Feb. 7, 1597, II, 826. 22

and could be levied for 'borrowing' a few stanza's from another ballad as in the case of Henry Carr who was "fined 2s. for printing "three staves out of another ballad of Edward White's," Dec. 8, 1578, II, 848.[23]

It can be assumed that many of the offences that led to fined being imposed were detected during the routine searches that the Company had organised, though the apparent regularity with which these searches were arranged may have rendered them ineffective to some degree. On 3 September 1576, a "Roster of Searchers" was written into the Registers:

> "...the names of such as are appointed to search together once every week; twelve pairs, the first being William Seres, Master, and Thomas Purfoote; any warned to search and making default to forfeit 6s. 8d.; matters for search are (1) what every printer is printing, the size of each impression and for whom printed, (2) the number of apprentices kept and to whom bound, and whether any man is employed who is neither an apprentice, a journeyman, nor a brother admitted, (3) whether any journeyman is kept that is neither a freeman nor a brother of the Company. (4) how many journeymen are kept in work, and (5) how many presses each printer has." [24]

One of the victims of such a search was Abel Jeffes, a busy printer who involved himself with books by such as George Gascoigne, Robert Greene, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Lodge and Thomas Nashe. On December 3rd, 1595, his press and letters were seized, for printing The moste strange prophecie of Doctor Cipriano "and diverse other lewde ballades and thinges very offensive."[25] Unwisely he attempted to resist the attentions of the official searchers and as a consequence was committed to prison until he submitted. He never again printed though he did remain in business as a bookseller. His presses were never returned though it is not clear what become of goods confiscated in this manner.

The Company of Stationers was concerned with exercising its right to control printing and selling. This control of the printing press was to lead to much controversy and bitterness within the ranks of the less privileged members of the Company. Since the number of Master printers was restricted and the number of presses each could operate fixed, then it followed that the opportunities open to journeymen printers would be few. In May, 1583 there were twenty-three official printing

establishments employing a total of fifty-three [illegible].[26] [illegible] of the Masters was permitted to indenture a [illegible] of apprentices; the number being governed by the size [illegible] of the establishment. After serving their [illegible] as an apprentice, the new journeymen were obliged [illegible] with an established printing house, seek jobbing [illegible] or alternatively hazard their livelihood by setting up a pirate press. In addition a great many apprentices became booksellers though [illegible] and patrimonial interests in this trade, it being necessary for success, to own some body of copyright, i.e. registered books. If the Company had ensured a very strict control of their own regulations concerning the number of indentured apprentices then there would have been a greater degree of harmony amongst their members. But the businesslike Masters realized only too well that it made sound economic sense to over-employ and over-indenture; any work put out to journeymen had to be paid at the rate-for-the-job and the rate-for-the-man; an apprentice would work for virtually nothing, being little better than a slave labourer. Thus in 1635, Sir John Lambe received a number of petitions from the journeymen printers of London complaining about the general state of the trade and the malpractices of the Master printers. In particular they were concerned at the excessive number of apprentices employed, particularly in the establishments of the biggest and most influential Stationers.[27] Lambe treated the matter with surprisingly grave concern and instituted a very thorough study of twenty-two printing houses. The journeymen were first invited to submit a report based upon their own investigations and then Lambe counter-checked their findings.[28] Of the twenty-two Master's, twelve were shown to be infringing the regulations, perhaps the worst offender being Augustine Matthews whose allowance was one apprentice but who in fact employed seven (possibly eight?) apprentices as well as casual labour that was neither apprenticed nor from the ranks of the

journeymen printers. Lambe's findings were endorsed by the Court of February, under a rather confusing statement that seems to [illegible] the complaint of the journeymen:

> "A Cause that worke is not soe sufficiently done, As it ought to bee, is this. That theis men soe brought upp are ready to worke, at what rate, & uppon what Condicons the Masters [illegible], by reason whereof they are soonest employed, when [illegible] are skillfull having beene lawfully trayned & educated in the profession, & therefore best able to performe theire [illegible] neglected, As is justly to be proved./." 29

But no action appears to have been taken to rectify the situation that in any case had proved to be less serious in terms of numbers than the journeymen had suggested originally. Still there was considerable evidence of the ineffective control of printing by the Stationers' Company - a lack of control that suggested the misuse of privilege.

Compounding the above grievance was another that had proved the undoing of the Company when they opposed the Wood/Symcocke application for a grant of patent-rights over all printing of broadsides. Of the twenty-two licensed printers, the largest and most influential establishments were under the control or patronage of just three or four wealthy stationers. By virtue of their power within the Company and their copyright holdings they were able to monopolise the trade and ensure that only the favoured printing houses had any business to speak of. Thus the journeymen found that the busiest master printers were those who kept the largest number of illegal apprentices and those masters who would have been in a position to employ journeymen could not do so since their work-load was by comparison very small. Of course in this latter case it is doubtful if the smaller houses would have taken on journeymen even had the need arisen since they had excellent opportunities for hiring cheaper labour, thus following the example of their peers.

The general state of the trade was perhaps best summed up in a

broadside of 1614(?),[30] in which the poor [illegible] Houses of Commons to put the Stationers' Company [illegible] distributing its rights and privileges throughout the membership of that Company. The complaints may be summarised:

1. That apart from a very few books privileged by royal prerogative to certain individuals, the remainder of the benefits of trade were by the Charter of 1557 intended for the general good, but they had been ordinanced within the Company to particular interests.

2. That by law all persons who had served apprenticeships had the right to set up for themselves in the trade they served but the Company had denied them this right by ordinance.

3. That the Master printers in 1586 had obtained a decree prohibiting journeymen from setting up their own presses by agreeing to set aside the privileges and rights they held in certain books and by guaranteeing full employment to the journeymen; promises that were never kept.

4. That by patent to the whole Company in 1603, the King had granted privileges to them all in the printing of certain books but this privilege had been disposed wholly to the benefit of a few particular master printers and the profits from this venture had enabled these few master printers to accrue even more privileges.

5. That the masters kept a multiplicity of apprentices to print all their books; that the price of books was raised and the quality of workmanship lowered.

6. That the booksellers and a few printers in collusion, engrossed all privileged copies and refused to deal with those copies belonging to printers except on their own terms.

7. That if the journeymen infringed decrees or ordinances of the Company, or questioned the rights of the Company, or complained of the Company's proceedings, then by virtue of a warrant dormant, (i.e. a

warrant drawn out in blank, to have details of [illegible] in at a later date or when required) the masters [illegible] journeymen's houses, imprison them, confiscate their [illegible] their presses without instituting legal proceedings. [illegible] journeyman wanted the decree of 1586 revoked,but they were powerless against the caucus at the heart of the Company; men like William Jaggard, Humphrey Lownes and Thomas Purfoote were held in very high esteem and had the ears of the State - what chance had a few impoverished journeymen printers?

Of all the products of the press, the lowliest was the broadside - a single sheet of paper printed on one side only. The diversity of broadsides was considerable, they comprised legal briefs, letters patent, indentures, licences, bonds and bills for payment, playbills and other forms of poster advertising, epitaphs, portraits and other engravings, bills of lading, maps, writs and warrants, ballads, etc. The most remunerative, hence commercially attractive type of broadside was the ballad since the public demand,once satisfied,could be again rekindled by the publication of new material and as long as there was a continual supply of new songs and ballads then the ballad printer and the ballad hawker could be assured of regular work. Rollins[31] has determined that there were at least seventy printers of ballads at work before the tenth year of Elizabeth I's reign and this figure can certainly be doubled if one takes into account the whole of the period up to 1600 and also keeps in mind that where Rollins has said 'printers' then the term 'stationer' (i.e. printer or bookseller) should be understood. Within the large group of broadsides issued in ballad form there were a number that from an early date showed themselves to be persistently in demand. The holder of the copyright of such items had therefore a "stock" which he could keep replenished with the knowledge that the public could be

depended on to buy such sheets even when the [illegible] of the ballads had long since disappeared. This stock provided [illegible] to stabilise his business, for it meant that when [illegible] trade, then he could set his shop to work on [illegible] the stock holding, and when a new song was purchased, then all work [illegible] to produce as many copies of the new broadside ballad as possible in the shortest length of time, to enable the printer to take the maximum advantage of the ephemeral market. Obviously such a printer/stationer needed a stock of considerable variety and a substantial list of titles to guarantee financial success. The number of printers and stationers who actually involved themselves in this form of enterprise is very small and an examination of the Stationers' Registers quickly reveals the principals. Furthermore it is also clear that the trade in "stock" ballads was virtually a monopoly throughout the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth as well. It appears that this trade was passed on through the years as a business inheritance but an inheritance in which patrimony played an insignificant role. A simplified genealogy of this trade is shown in Fig. 1, with the line extended into the nineteenth century.

The earliest traceable ballad printer who depended for a significant part of his livelihood upon a stock of ballads and songs, was Richard Jones, and the entry of significance in the Registers is August 8, 1586, when one hundred and twenty-three ballads were licensed to him; "These ballads are mentioned in a bill of Ric Jones his own wrytinge filed up with the ballades."[32] Unfortunately we do not have a full list of the titles but it is perhaps reasonable to conjecture that the list would have contained the majority of the next major ballad entry into the Registers; that of the six members of the Ballad Partnership on the fourteenth of December, 1624 about which more will be said later.

? Richard Jones	[illegible]
The Ballad Partners	ca. 1624 — [illegible]
The successors to the Ballad Partners	1692 — ca. 1715
The Bow Churchyard press and the Dicey family.	ca. 1715 — 1762
The Aldermary Churchyard press and the Marshall family.	1762 — ca. 1795
John Pitts	ca. 1797 — 1844
William Fortey	ca. 1849 — 1882
Henry P. Such	ca. 1875 — ca. 1915.

Figure 1

The transfer of stock between Richard Jones and the [illegible] Partners is not clearly stated in the Registers and the [illegible] of the redistribution of copyright can only be [illegible]. It is clear that like any other businessmen, the stationers and printers of London formed small mutual aid groups and that much of the [illegible] wrangling that went on within these small groups was kept secret. Like the registration of copyright itself, many mutual agreements would not necessarily have been formalised, so that the perhaps circuitous route by which Jones' ballads reached Messrs. Pavier, Grismond, Gosson and the three Wright brothers in 1624 is unknown. There are some clues however; strewn in the Registers, the various imprints of broadside ballads and the domestic State papers of the period.

Richard Jones commenced in business in his own right after August 7, 1564, when he was admitted into the Company of Stationers. He was "both printer and bookseller[33] and throughout his career, involved himself in publishing popular literature, notably ballads and chapbooks. For a time he was in partnership with a certain William Hill of whom we know absolutely nothing. What is known is that the two partners sold their business to William White in 1598 (Arber, III, 702), though Jones still retained some interests, for he continued to enter copies into the Registers until 1602.[34]

William White had been apprenticed to Richard Jugge and took up his freedom on April 10, 1583.[35] For nine years (from 1589 or perhaps a little earlier?) until 1598 they worked amicably together until White bought Jones' business and removed from the White Horse in Fleet Street to new premises of his own at Cow Lane, near Holborn Conduit, over against the White Lion. Here he remained until his death, which occurred between April 28, 1623[36] and June 29, 1624.[37] As early as 1613, his son John had been taken into partnership and by 1619 John was well enough

established to be made a liveried member of the Company. [illegible] there is no connection drawn between William White and [illegible] in either the Registers or in McKerrow's Dictionary of [illegible] Booksellers, 1557 - 1640, it is significant that during the years 1610 to 1620 a number of assignments were interchanged between the two White's (Edward and William) and four of the eventual Ballad Partners, (Thomas Pavier, John Grismond, Henry Gosson and John Wright) together with Edward Alldee; the latter being most frequently the printer handling Gosson's broadsides. It is Gosson who we note in a joint imprint with John White in 1615 when together they entered and published a poem by Thomas Brewer entitled Mistris Turner's Repentance.[38]

In May, 1612, a meeting of the court of the Stationers' Company formalised an arrangement whereby the printing of ballads was to become the sole right of five printers. The "order for Ballads" of May 12, 1612[39] was caused by the "printinge of many leude ballades, offensive bothe to god, the Churche and the state, and to the corruptinge of youthe." In addition it was felt that the quantity of "scurrile & evill thinges" should be reduced, for too many people were evidently enjoying this noxious reading matter when they should be "exercisinge themselves to reade better matters." The new ordinance charged that only five nominated printers should have the right to print ballads. All ballads that had been printed up to that date but which remained unentered were to be entered, assigned, and printed only by one of the five nominess, even though the new assignment might be to another stationer. It was declared illegal for a person to go to any other printing establishment for his printed ballad sheets. In the event of the death of a nominee, the Company would appoint another to take his place and if a nominee transgressed the rules of the Company he might lose his privilege and in addition, such ballad copyrights as he had been able to secure would be confiscated and reassigned.

The first five printers to be granted this [illegible] Aldee, George Elde, William White, Symon Stafford [illegible]. They were bound over to observe one rule which [illegible] the commercial aspects of the trade in that they [illegible] paper of "lesse price an ij^{s} viij^{d} the reame." [illegible] selling price to hawkers was 13s.4d. the ream[40] then it is evident that large profits accrued from the ballad trade. [illegible] sheets at 7s.6d. the ream and if his printers [illegible] rate of 2s.8d. a ream, then the cost of printing plus a profit to both the printer and Symcock, the middle-man, amounted to 4s.10d. Henry Gosson added a further 5s.10d. to this as retailer and the hawkers sold at a price of 1d. each. The hawkers stood to make as much as £1.6s.8d. per ream but of course they might not sell all they purchased and in addition would have bartered quantities at much lower than nominal price.

On November 15, 1614, George Purslowe took the vacated place of Symon Stafford and joined the ballad printers.[41] Nearly six years later, in February 1620, the company decided for an undisclosed reason, to allow sellers of ballads to have their printing requirements undertaken by any establishment that they saw fit to employ.[42] This action was obviously related to the patent awarded to Marin de Boisloré, Roger Wood and Thomas Symcock in the previous November.

Despite the help that the records of the Stationers' Company give us, it has to be admitted that most of the day-to-day business of a printer or bookseller remains a complete mystery - apart, that is, from the technical aspects of the trade which can be deduced from the extant publications. There would have been a great amount of bartering between stationers regarding copyrights. For instance William Jaggard would have run the risk of difficulties in his printing of the first folio of Shakespeare's plays had he not come to some agreement with the holders

of copyright in the quarto plays. In this respect Pavier and [illegible] would have been two principals with whom he would [illegible] from [illegible]. Pavier however was a very good friend of Jaggard as is evidenced by the fact that Pavier was the stipulated overseer of Jaggard's will. Perhaps the help here was reciprocal for Jaggard appears to have shown little enthusiasm in dealing with ballad sheets but would surely have acquired the copyright in many when he bought James Roberts' business in or around 1608. A glance through Arber's List of 837 London Publishers between 1553 and 1640 reveals a great deal of activity prior to 1630 by the ballad partners in distributing formal assignments of non-ballad copyrights to a variety of persons.[43]

Whilst this apparent rearrangement of interests was proceeding towards the entry of 1624, an event occurred which must have caused considerable dismay, for it threatened to disrupt the whole broadside trade within the Company in one stroke. In November 1618, a squire of King James' bodyguard, a certain Marin de Boislore, sought a patent grant from the King to cover the printing of all broadsides. As this gentleman had served the King well in Europe as a secret agent of some type, it was in the manner of payment for services rendered and was assured of a sympathetic hearing. The resulting fracas between the Patentees and the Stationers Company continued for eleven years and has been well documented by Jackson in his Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640;[44] the more important letters, briefs and broadsides relating to the events being reproduced in Greg's Companion to Arber.[45]

The Stationers' Company (that is, the masters of the Company) were naturally most disturbed at this request for sole rights in that were to them, very lucrative sidelines. The chief interests that were endangered were not ballads but playbills - the copyright of William

Jaggard, briefs for casualties - belonging to Thomas Pavier, [illegible] and recognizances - John Beale's, and apprentices' [illegible] the property of Humphrey Lownes. Surprisingly, the Company did not put up a very convincing or even sound argument against the grant when they protested. The brief from the Solicitor General, Sir Thomas Coventry, to the King mentions only the Stationers' concern that "the things are meane, and not worthy of your Majesties privelege especially the printing of them being so settled already"[46] - in other words, broadsides are so insignificant that we the Stationers are best left to distribute the printing allied thereto. But if this were so then why protest at all? They cannot have believed that the King would grant the patent, but on October 30, 1619, after Boislore had assigned the use of the patent to Thomas Symcock and Roger Wood (it being felt that no foreigner should have a patent granted to them directly), the King granted the requested privilege for a period of thirty-one years, subject to a yearly rent, payable to the King, of ten pounds. The list of items covered by the grant is extensive[47] and the exceptions (other items previously covered by Letters Patent) few,[48] though surprisingly ballads were listed in this latter class though they were not protected by any patent so far as is known. The penalties for infringing the patent were severe, a summary fine of forty shillings for each offence plus the possibility of confiscation of goods.

The reaction of the Stationers' Company was predictably one of alarm verging upon blind panic; they petitioned the House of Commons, they appealed to the King who in turn referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Secretary Naunton and Sir Edward Coke, and so the Stationers petitioned the Lord Mayor of London and Court of Aldermen to endorse their grievances to the Archbishop and the others.[49] Their petition to the House of Commons was printed on a broadside[50] and once

again was rather weakly and ineffectively countered - it merely stated that hardships would be caused in the families of those formerly involved in this business because of the patent, which was ridiculous as everyone must have realized. Most interesting is the list of stationers appended to the petition; the usual array of smaller masters appears - Purfoote, Lownes, Jaggard and Beale - together with those of the imminent ballad partnership and twenty-two others, including John White. It excludes Edward Aldee, the master printer who was most involved with the printing of ballads and chapbooks, particularly for Henry Gosson and Thomas Pavier. Bois1oré, Wood and Symcock, as Greg suggests, answered this serious spate of protests with much more effective arguments than their oppenents.[51] They alleged that only four of the thirty-one petitioners had any hand in the composing of the petition and added that the remaining names had been appended without prior consultation. They then suggested that taking this particular class of work from out of the domain of these four wealthy stationers and placing it elsewhere within the Company was very much in the public good. More sinisterly they suggested that prior to petitioning the Crown and State, these four worthy gentlemen had in fact attempted to come to a financial understanding with the Patentees over the distribution of the patent rights, but that;

> "..these Patentees have upon intreatie of the poor Printers, refused to sell unto some of the Peticioners, the interest of their Patent, which is graunted by his Majestie upon certificate and examination...." 52

They further undertook to guarantee that the work ensuing from the free use of their patent would be given only to the poor masters and journeymen of the Company, adding that no one could suggest otherwise since:

> "....the Patentees are no Printers, and can take no Apprentizes, nor benefit of their Patent but by employing the poore, whereas if this privilege were in the rich Printers hands, they and their Apprentizes would doe all the worke, and receive the benefit from the poore to their own use as they doe at this time, and heretofore have done with all other privileges." 53

In 1623 a further abstract of the patent was issued from the press of Edward Allde for and on behalf of the Patentees which amongst other things mentions that goods produced within the scope of the patent could be obtained from the premises of Edward Allde.[54] The wrangling between the Patentees and the Company went on for a further five years during which little seems to have been published on behalf of Symcock and Wood,(there is nothing extant that can be dated 1621 to 1628) and during which the original patentee, Heminge, fell from grace; being banished from England with his wife and children on October 8, 1627.[55] The problem of the Patentees seeming inactivity during these years has puzzled many researchers into this period of printing history. In particular, Cyprian Blagden, in his Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,[56] has put forward several hypotheses as to what occurred during this period of patent-right.. These require some consideration for they go a long way to explaining the situation,though not far enough due to a rather puzzling oversight of Blagden's (and others as far as I am aware) which is that the patent granted to Symcocke and Wood covered the printing, not the selling of broadsides and it did not give Symcock the right and privilege to infringe existing copyrights. What it did do was to force book-sellers to go to the Patentees for their printing requirements, which makes much more sense when one considers Allde's advertisement at the end of the 1623 abstract of the patent. Thus the ballad partners and their few competitors were able to continue in business and the fact that few imprints bear the Patentees names is irrelevant. What is important is that booksellers like Gosson, Grove, John Wright etc.,were able to keep a steady stream of ballads flowing to the public and the similarity of printing style at this period between sheets issued for Gosson and Groves, competitors in trade, is due to the patent - Allde being the common printer one suspects. Thus STC 19246 which has "By

the Assignes of T. Symcocke, sold by F. Grove' means a about printed within the patent, by Edward Allde (?) for sale by Francis Grove. Similar printing for Henry Gosson or John Wright did not mean that they had become the assigns of Symcocke, only that they had gone to the assignee for their printing requirements. Similarly Blagden's second point[57] is answered by Allde's advertisement and later that of Thomas Hardewicke.[58] Blagden's fifth hypothesis is puzzling for he seems to assume that the patent continued up until 1655 whereas of course it was discontinued in 1630, but that is another story.

For some perverse reason, Symcocke in 1628, (Wood having sold out to his partner it seems) started to print ballads on his own behalf disregarding the copyrights of other booksellers. It is a questionable point but there seems little reason for him to make this assumption and the issuing of a further abstract of the patent did little to mollify the various stationers concerned. Interestingly the new abstract[59] seems to have been printed by Hardewicke, not Allde, and one conjectures that this may well have been due to the refusal of Allde to co-operate with Symcocke now that he was stealing other men's goods. Jackson mentions thirty-nine ballads that were printed for Symcock at this time and of these at least ten were covered by the ballad partners entry of 1624. The whole question of Symcock's patent was in 1630 going through a close investigation of the Court of Chancery and a certain William Norcott provided the evidence that was to bring him down. Symcock had apparently been having great difficulty getting any printing done. He tried offering considerably more than the standard rates but without success. Norcott told the court that the Masters had refused for one of three reasons: either they were over-loaded with work or (more honestly) they feared the reaction of the Company, or they would print for him but only at ridiculously exhorbitant rates.[60] So the hapless Symcock, despite his early good intentions was defeated in the end by

the very factor that had justified his patent [illegible] not a printer and he could not get his work done for him. [illegible] printer he had managed to demonstrate to the public [illegible] but in the end his own greed had destroyed this [illegible] and coercion of the Stationers' Company concentrated [illegible] members of the trade, effectively froze him out of the [illegible]. Finally, the Court of Chancery ordered the Company to pay Symcock [illegible] upon his stock and presses by a neutral party and informed Symcock that his patent was no longer valid. No doubt the wealthy stationers were well pleased but the Lord Keeper had a sting, for he ordered the Bishop of London to:

> "sett a course for the disposeing the Printinge for the good of the poore sorte of the said Companie and for the appointinge such fitting addicon of wages for the said poore [illegible] as shallbee fitt...." 61

Despite the good intentions of the Lord Keeper however, the wealthy masters soon had the status quo that prevailed before 1619 re-established except that during the wrangle six poorer stationers had established for themselves a virtual monopoly of stock ballads that was to influence the ballad market and traditional folksong for the next three hundred years.

Notes

1. STC 13687, printed by W. de Worde, 1500. Only two known survivals of this unique copy.
STC 13688, printed by R. Pynson, 1500. A single leaf is all that survives of this edition.
A complete edition of c.1515 exists in the University Library, Cambridge. This copy was printed by de Worde, (STC 13689)

2. These are all contained in a collection of ten ballads and poems bound together in one volume and preserved in the National Library of Scotland. Apart from an undated Antwerp printing of the Little Gest of Robin Hood, the contents are all from the first Scottish press of Chepman and Myllar. Together with the ballad type poems of Dunbar and Lydgate there is a ballad beginning, "In all ware gardyn growis thare na flouris," a metrical romance of Colligrus and Gawain and the version of Sir Eglamour.

3. Madan, F., Day Book of John Dorne, Oxford Historical Society Collectanea, First Series, part III, 1885.

4. ibid., 1.493.

5. Dibdin, T.F., The Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, Vol. iii, p.346.

6. Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic, Henry VIII, Vol.12., Part 1 (1537)
" 15 Feb 424 SEDITIOUS SONGS
R.O.
"Information against John Hogan, who, going about the country with a "crowde" or a fiddle, was at Diss, in Norfolk, on Thursday after Ash Wednesday, 28 Henry VIII., and there, in the house of Edmund Brown, butcher, sang a song with these words, "The hunt is up, &c.....
By "The hunt is up" he meant the Northern men are up. Signed and sealed by Thomas Bek, John Jamys, John John Folssar, butcher and Davy William." p.206
A further entry in the same year on this subject refers to a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Thomas Cromwell complaining of the minstrel to the Lord of Leicester. (Vol.12. Pt.2. p.119)

7. Shepard, L., The Broadside Ballad, London, 1962. p.52.

8. Statutes of the Realm, III, p.894.

9. Rollins, Hyder E., Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries in the Stationers' Registers, 1557-1709. 2nd. Edition with new introduction by L. Shepard, Pennsylvania, 1967. Hereafter cited as "Rollins" followed by his numbered entry.

10. The reason for this omission may be that Rollins was able only to work from the transcipts of Arber and Eyre, as in fact most scholars have done.
Arber, Edward., A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640, 5 vols., London and Birmingham, 1875-94.
Eyre, G.E., A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708 A.D., 3 vols., London, 1913-14.

It is doubtful if he had the opportunity of [illegible] volume, Entries of Copies for 28 April 1710 [illegible]. It will be remembered that the Copyright Legislation [illegible] effectively opened the doors to unlicensed printing [illegible] with the necessity of making ballad entries. [illegible] brown and Norris entry of 1712 is an [illegible].

11. Arber, II, 440; Rollins, 2890.

12. Unfortunately the "whyte booke" referred to [illegible] within the records of the Company of [illegible] any idea of the purpose or contents of this [illegible].

12a. Rollins, 128.

13. Rollins, 130.

14. Rollins, 138.

15. Rollins, 139.

16. Rollins, 141.

17. Rollins, 142.

18. Rollins, 152.

19. Rollins, 153.

20. Rollins, 129.

21. Rollins, 144.

22. Rollins, 155.

23. Rollins, 141a.

24. Greg. W.W., Companion to Arber, Oxford, 1967, p.17) (Calendar entry No. 69 — Arber, II.41).

25. McKerrow, R.B. Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640, The Bibliographical Society, London, 1910 (reissued 1968), p.156. Also Rollins, 154.

26. Greg., op.cit., p.29 (Calendar entry No. 98 — Arberm I.248)

27. ibid, p.99 (Calendar entry No. 309.) and p.329 (Document 78/2.)

28. ibid., pp.330-34. Of the eighteen printers that the journeymen held in contempt of the Company's ordinances, Lambe after investigation found that only twelve were obviously so, the others seemed to have managed to justify their use of an excessive number of young workers; family affiliations being one excuse offered. A number of apprentices were not to be found at the master's establishment when Lambe called and one was said to be at the East Indies!

29. ibid., p.334.

30. ibid., p.52. (Calendar entry No. 161.) Extracted from [illegible] a broadside of which copies are to be found in the [illegible] Library (Broadsides 24/4), the British Museum ([illegible] fol.137) and in proof state in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries (Lemon No. 214).

31. Rollins, Hyder E., "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad" in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Volume [illegible], New York, 1919, p.260.

32. Rollins, 149.

33. McKerrow, op.cit., p.159.

34. Ibid., p.159. There is also a stray entry of 1611 which has caused a little confusion. This entry is in fact of some interest as it refers to a traditional ballad now better known by the title High Barbary but then entered as George Aloe and [illegible], Item the second parte of the. The entry is to Rich. Jones on March 19, 1611 though no copy of this date exists. In 1590 (vide 31), the first part of the ballad was registered to Thomas Nelson and no copy at all exists for this ballad. One would expect a second part of a ballad to be issued fairly close to the publication of the first and it seems possible that what has occurred here is that Jones has issued a sheet of the second part some time soon after Nelson's copy and that a stationer has re-registered this sheet in 1611 using a copy of the early broadside for this purpose. Jones' name has been picked up from this sheet by the clerk making the entry into the Registers and the mistake has never been corrected. See Rollins, 887 and 955. There is certainly no record of a Richard Jones within the ranks of the Company after 1602.

35. ibid., p.288.

36. Arber, Edward., A List... of 837 London Publishers....between 1553 and 1640, A.D. Being a Master Key ..... Birmingham, 1 May 1890. p.12. (W. White assigned copies to Benjamin Fisher on 28 April 1623; Arber, IV. 95).

37. ibid., p.3. (Widow White assigned copies to Edward Allde on 29 June 1624; Arber, IV.120).

38. STC 3720 A unique copy of this broadside is preserved in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. It was entered into the Stationers' Registers in John White's name on November 23, 1615; Arber, III,578. See also Rollins, 1781.

39. Jackson, W.A., Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640., London, 1957. pp.54-55.

40. ibid., introduction p.xxi.

41. ibid., p.68.

42. ibid., p.130.

43. e.g. Arber, IV.151; IV.160; IV.164; IV.189; IV.196; IV.267; IV.318.

44. Jackson, op.cit., introduction, pp.xvi-xxii.

45. Greg, op.cit., pp.164-175.

46. ibid., p.165.

47. ibid., p.173. Items belonging to the grant are:

"All Briefes for Collections. All Publications concerning any Letters Patents. Indentures for Apprentices, [illegible], Drayning of Lands, & other things. All Bondes and Acquittances for Victualers, Ale-house-keepers and others. Licences to Collect or gather by. Licences for Victualers. Licences for the selling of Wines. And all other Licences.

All Bondes, Billes, and Acquittances for payments, or receipts of money. Articles concerning the Visitation of Bishops, Archdeacons and their Officials. Billes for teaching of Schollers. Billes concerning Physitians, Chyrurgions, or others. All Billes for Playes, Challenges, Prizes, Sportes, or Showes whatsoever.

All Epitaphes, Inscriptions or other Copies, either in Prose or Verse. All Portratures, and Pictures whatsoever. Ballads. Billes of Lading. Mappes, Damaske Paper. Borders. Printed papers for Silkes, Fustians, and other Wares. Writs and Warrants for Sheriffes, and Justices of Peace.

Letters Patents texed. Indentures texed. Billes for the Court of Conscience. Pariters Billes. Billes of Sickness. And all other Coppies, Chartes, & thinges whatsoever, to bee Imprinted, Roled, or done upon the one side of Paper or Parchment, in Secretary hand or otherwise."

48. Excepted were:

ibid. 166.

"All Proclamations and other thinges now belonging to his Majesties Printer, by vertue of his Higness Letters Patents formerly graunted in that behalfe: and all Ballades, prognostications & Almanackes, and other things heretofore granted by any Letters patents from his Majesty, or any of his progenitors for any tearme not yet expired.."

49. Jackson, op.cit., p.xvii.

50. Greg, op.cit., p.168, referring to a printed broadside in the Guildhall collection (23:115) which is reprinted in full in W. Notestein, F.H. Relf, and H. Simpson, Commons Debates 1621, vol.7 (1935), pp.535-6.

51. ibid., p.169.

52. ibid., p.170.

53. ibid., p.171.

54. ibid., p.173 (from a broadside in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries; STC 8616).

55. Jackson, op.cit., p.xix,n.

56. Blagden, Cyprian., "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in Studies in Bibliography, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, v.6, 1954, pp.161-180.

57. ibid., p.167.

58. Greg. op. cit., p.175.

59. Ibid., referring to a broadside (STC 8903) in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries.

60. Jackson, op.cit., p.xvii,n.

61. ibid., p.xxi.

Chapter 2 - The Ballad Partners and their Successors

It has usually been assumed that the partnership of Pavier, Grismond, Grismond and the three Wright's began with the [illegible] when they entered the titles of one hundred and [illegible] into the Registers of the Stationers' Company. What makes this massive entry unusual is the low payment of twenty shillings made for such an extensive list of copies. The Court Books give us the answer to this problem, for in an entry of November 6, 1624 we find that the Court of Stationers had made this list obligatory:

> "Whereas divers Ballettes have been heretofore disorderly printed without entrance or allowance. It is nowe ordered that an Entrance be made particularly of the Ballettes that are now printed unto Mr. Pavier and his partenors he paying xx^{s} to the house and Contenting the Clarke: Provided that if any others have any title to any of the said ballettes by Entrance or other wise this order or the Entrance shall not prejudice them."

Thus the partnership was already in existence, though for how long it had existed we cannot tell. Also, the small charge was obviously a concession to the Partners in view of the rather unusual step that the Court was making. A little over a month after the order, the entry was made, following closely the wording of the order:

> "Master Pavier, John Wright, Cuthert: Wright, Edward. Wright, John Grismond, Henry Gosson — Entred for their Copies at a full Court holden 6° Novembris, last, The Copies of the Ballades hereafter perticulerly menconed. PROVIDED that this entrance shall not prejudice any other man that have any Interest to any of them by any former Entrance or otherwise/ xx^{s}./ " 1.

There follows a list of one hundred and twenty-eight ballad titles, many of which had been frequently printed in earlier years. The number is in itself remarkable for its similarity to Richard Jones' entry of one hundred and twenty-three ballads on Aug. 8, 1586, and it could well be that this latter list formed the basis of the new entry and of a sixty-eight year partnership. The detailed history of this partnership has been well documented by the incisive article published in 1954 and written

by Cyprian Blagden for the Bibliographical Society of Transactions.[1] Blagden's interest was specifically the latter end of the seventeenth century and depended to a large degree upon evidence gained by examining the ballads listed in Wing[3] and examining the range of imprints that they bear. He found that from 1656 onwards, the imprint could be a useful guide to dating the individual ballad and accordingly compiled a chronological list of imprints. By and large his findings appear to be sound though an examination of ballad collections rather than just those ballads entered into Wing does yield certain anomalies and there is a further danger that one might from his evidence regard the partnership as a closed fraternity which it certainly never was.

There seems to be little doubt that the major influence in the formation of this publishing group was Thomas Pavier, an influential members of the Company who had originally belonged to the Drapers' Company but who had transferred on June 3rd, 1600.[4] He served a shortened apprenticeship to William Barley and was admitted into the livery on June 30th, 1604. Of the many books that one associates with Pavier the most famous are undoubtedly the quarto plays that William Jaggard printed for him in 1619 though with false dates on the titles ranging from 1594 to 1611.[5] His interests in ballads and other types of street literature seem to have been slight and none of the extant broadsides bearing his name are of the type one associates with 'stock-ballads'; he being more concerned with ephemeral news sheets and the fantastic occurrences that so delighted the seventeenth century audience. His association with the other partners is essentially a family one since three of his daughters were married to his partners, Cuthbert Wright, Henry Gosson and John Grismond. Other than the undoubted influence he had in forming the partnership, Pavier had little to do with the actual business establishment as he died in 1625, succumbing it is thought, to the plague.[6]

After his death, his wife Mary assigned her [illegible] to Edward Brewster and Robert Bird; these [illegible] share of the ballad stock as far as we know, though [illegible] matter, for Brewster and Bird eventually assigned [illegible] to John Wright (2) on 13th June, 1642.[7]

Cuthbert Wright was the son of Thomas [illegible] of Buckinock in Northamptonshire. He had been apprenticed to Felix Kingston, stationer, for eight years and took up his freedom on November 5th, 1610. His rights in the partnership appear to have been little used as few ballads exist with his name upon them. He died sometime before February 22nd, 1639[8] when his widow Abigail assigned some of her copyrights to Andrew Kembe. Like Cuthbert Wright, John Grismond was so far as we can tell from extant records, a sleeping partner who did not avail himself of the privileges associated with the ballad stock. He had started trade as a bookseller but McKerrow suggests that at some time after the beginning of 1637 and before his death in 1638 he set up as both printer and typefounder.[9] After his death, a nephew, John Grismond II, carried on the business but did not become a ballad partner.

Of the initial partners, no one involved himself more in the ballad trade than Henry Gosson. His father Thomas is also understood to have been involved in selling ballads and chapbooks though little exists to support this assertion. Thomas Gosson kept a shop adjoining London Bridge gate and was succeeded there by his wife Alice. It seems that she maintained the business until her son received his freedom on August 3rd, 1601, and then removed herself to premises in Pannier Alley. Henry entered his first book into the Registers on May 18th, 1603[10] but the earliest extant publication of his is dated 1606.[11] Throughout his career of thirty-nine years, Henry Gosson identified himself strongly in the trade of cheap street literature - ballads, chapbooks, jest-books and

the like, though he did sometimes presume to [illegible] first two quarto editions of Shakespeare's Pericles [illegible] from the press of his close friend Edward Allde in 1609.[12] [illegible] play was later issued by Pavier we must assume there were some [illegible] assignments which were never entered into the registers. The earliest extant ballad-sheet of Gosson's is dated 1610[13] but [illegible] were to form a large proportion of his stock-in-trade. Apart from ballad sheets his principal stock seems to have been the various popular works of John Taylor, the water-poet.[14]

Of particular interest to us here is Gosson's involvement with printed versions of folksongs. Of the twenty extant broadsides of traditional folksongs printed prior to 1640, six came from Gosson's shop, these being; Robin Hood and the Curtall Fryer,[15] Chevy Chase,[16] Little Mousegrove,[17] Sir John Barleycorn,[18] The Devil and the Scold,[19] and Geordie.[20] Only the last mentioned title is included in the STC but with the exception of Robin Hood and the Curtall Fryer, all were registered with the Stationers' Company. Of the six perhaps Sir John Barleycorn is the most interesting in terms of its contemporary impact, for there is the suggestion of a certain degree of arch humour directed at his fellow stationers and friends.

* A pleasant new Ballad to sing both Even and Morne,
Of the bloody murther of Sir John Barley-corne.
To the tune of, Shall I lie beyond thee.

As I went through the North Coun-
I heard a merry greeting; (try
A pleasant toy, and full of joy,
two noble men were meeting.

And as they walked for to to sport, (sic.)
upon a Summers day,
Then with another Noblemen
they went to make a fray.

Whose name was sir John Barley corne,
he dwelt downe in a vale;
Who had a kinsman dwelt him nigh,
they cal'd him Thomas Godale.

Another named Richard Beere,
was ready at that time:
Another worthy knight was there,
cal'd sir William White Wine.

Some of them fought in a Jacke,
some of them in a Can:
But the chiefest in a blacke pot,
like a worthy noble man." 21 etc.

Thomas Godale suggests a noted actor of the day, [illegible] Barly corne perhaps indicates a relation of William [illegible], the ballad printer to whom Pavier had originally been apprenticed and William White Wine the William White who purchased Richard Jones' ballad business and who was a friend of Pavier. Richard Beere who fought, presumably "in a blacke pot" may be an allusion to Richard Jugge who had been William White's master and was also involved in the ballad trade. The remainder of the ballad, and that portion that has been perpetuated in both oral and printed traditions concerns the anthropomorphic allegory of the death and resurrection of barley that owes much to the ballad of Allan-a-Maut preserved in the mid-sixteenth century Bannatyne MS.[22]

We have no record of the death of Henry Gosson but he published five items in 1640 and then nothing more that can be definitely ascribed to a later date appears against his name. It has been said that patrimonial inheritance played little part in the continuance of the ballad partnership, but there was a strand of direct inheritance which passed from master to former apprentice and of which John Wright (1) was the progenitor.

After serving his apprenticeship with Mr. Windet, John (1) took up his freedom on July 2nd, 1605 and set himself up as a bookseller at the King's Head in the Old Bailey. Eleven months earlier he had taken an apprentice; his young nephew Edward. His early publications include few ballads but he did issue two of the great treasures of English literature; the Sonnets of William Shakespeare[23] and The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus by Christopher Marlowe.[24]

Despite the fact that few ballad sheets [illegible] he obviously took an active role in the formation of [illegible] as is evidenced by his entering six ballads (only [illegible]) into the Registers for and on behalf of the partners [illegible].[25] It seems quite possible that he had assumed the role of [illegible] after the death of Pavier, for there is very little [illegible] the partnership during his lifetime that does not have his name attached to it. In the same year as the above entry, his son John (2) was apprenticed to Francis Coles and it seems quite possible that Coles was by this time himself a partner despite Blagden's suggestion that his partnership dates from 1629.[26]

Amongst the publications associated with John (1) one must draw special attention to the two newsheets, Mercurius Civicus and The True Informer. Periods of war are well known to benefit only the newspaper industry and during the civil war, Wright teamed up with another bookseller to distribute Mercurius Civicus. Bates was not a member of the ballad partnership though he did have a small involvement in the ballad trade. The year before his association with John Wright (1) had been spent in a similar venture with Francis Coles when they produced Diurnall Occurrences. What made the new paper, Mercurius Civicus so special was the use of wood-block illustrations to accompany the events described and in this respect they were the heralds of a style of newspaper that a trade descendent, William Dicey was to capitalise upon. Mercurius Civicus ran from its first issue on May 11th, 1643 until December 10th, 1646. Plomer shows some surprise at the early demise of this paper but he had overlooked the death of one of its proprietors, John Wright (1) in May 1646, having assumed that Wright lived unt i 1656.[27]

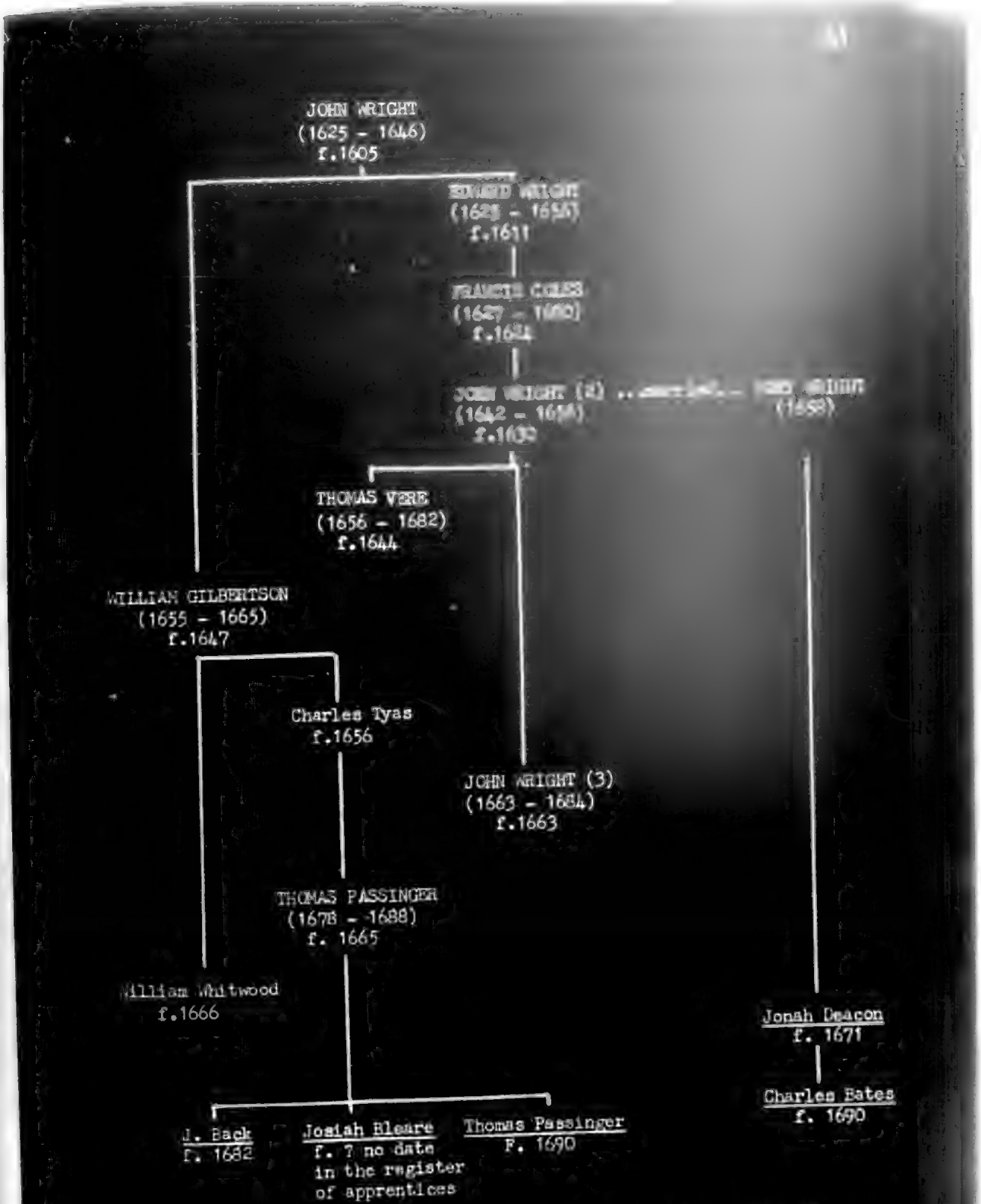
As has been suggested, John Wright (1) gave rise to a direct line of business inheritance through the apprenticeship system and this is

depicted on the family tree in fig.2.

Of the remaining founder partner, Edward Wright, we know very little, for apart from one or two ballads dating from the 1630's[28] very little has survived with his imprint. He had been apprenticed originally to his uncle, John (1) and took up his freedom on August 14th, 1611. He died shortly before May 20th, 1656.

When John Wright (2) entered the partnership in 1642, only his father and cousin remained of the original partners, together with his former Master, Francis Coles. Since he was already a full partner in his father's business at the King's Head, Old Bailey, it seems unusual that formal membership in the partnership should have occurred at this time. However he had acquired all the copyrights of Robert Bird and Edward Brewster on June 13th, 1642 and these would have put him in a powerful bargaining position. It will be remembered that Bird and Brewster had received many assignments from Thomas Pavier's widow in 1626. It seems probable that most of the publications from the King's Head premises were, until 1646, issued in the elder John Wright's name but thereafter John (2) did issue many ballads.[29] Upon his father's death however, he did not inherit the business which was instead willed to Edward.[30] In 1651 Edward retired from bookselling and made his will, leaving all to John and naming his nephew and Francis Coles as executors.[31] He lived for a further five years however and during this time he assigned many copyrights to William Gilbertson; notably in the year of his death. Gilbertson had joined the partners in 1655 and possibly at the same time as Thomas Vere.[31a]

From the inception of the ballad partnership in 1625 and until 1656, all broadsides were issued under the imprint of a single stationer. Some partners, like Gosson, made full use of the ballad stock whilst others



Names given in capital letters designate Partners with their dates of active membership being given below. Those names underlined represent successors. 'f' followed by a date denotes the year in which that person received his freedom of the Company of Stationers.

did not avail themselves of the privilege quite as extensively. No doubt the interchange of copyright of material [illegible] stock was frequent and unofficial in the trade that should have not entered into the Registers. For instance Francis Coles entered into partners in or around 1627 and entered the ballad of [illegible] on June 24th, 1630. He did not so far as we are aware, issue a broadside of this himself, but about the same time as his entry by Coles, Henry Gosson published the ballad and without any explanation being raised by his ballad partner.

Following Gosson's disappearance from the partnership about 1640, Francis Coles took on the mantle of ballad publisher and for the next forty years dominated the trade from his shop in Wine Street, near Hatton Garden. He had published a number of ballads before 1640 and whilst a partner in the ballad stock. Of these early broadsides three are of special interest: Captain Ward and the Rainbow;[32] The Husbandman and the Servingman;[33] and The Life of a Man.[34] Another that was entered to him at this period but which is not extant with either his or another partner's imprint is now widely known as Three Jolly Huntsmen but was then called A Choice of Inventions.[35] Coles remained an active partner for a total of fifty-three years - far longer than any other stationer. Plomer suggests that he was involved in ballad production with Thomas Bates but there is no evidence of such a trade association and the only joint venture that can be detected is their mutual cooperation in Diurnal Occurrences, a short-lived newsheet of 1642.

The third large entry of ballads to the partnership was made on March 13th, $16\frac{55}{56}$ to Masters, Francis Coles, John Wright (2), Thomas Vere and William Gilbertson, consisting of twenty-eight titles of which five were to become (or already were) well loved traditional folksongs:

" 1. Of the soldier and Peggy
..... 8. The lamentable ditty of Little [illegible],
.....10. You here may behold, how the devill
(though subtile) was guld by a scold.
.....16. A relacon of the life and death of S^r A.
Barton.
.....22. The honour of an appr. of London." 36

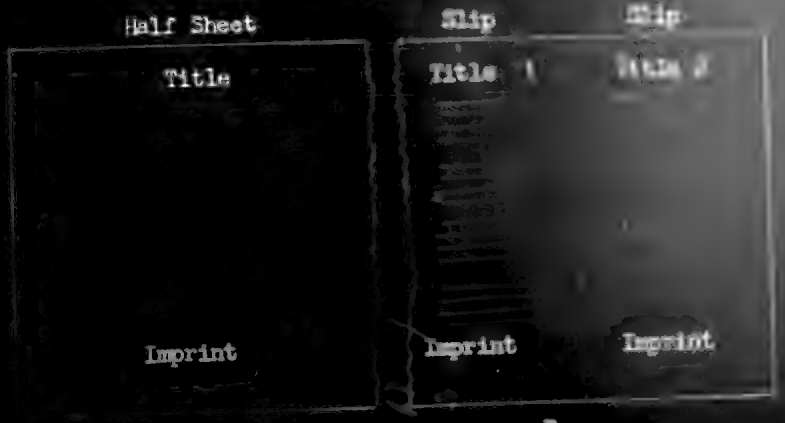
Of these five ballads only the first and last were entirely new registrations, the remainder having been entered in 1637 and 1640 to the ballad partners. The reason for this re-registration is not clear for the partnership still flourished and no one appears to have threatened their rights in these ballads. It is true that 1656 and 1657 were years of great activity in the ballad trade at large and it may have been merely a protective reminder to their competitors. In 1649 magistrates had been instructed to flog, and to confiscate the goods of ballad-singers, and since these itinerant hawkers were the mainstay of the trade, ballad publishing became largely dormant between 1649 and 1655. This would explain the speculative rush of a number of stationers to establish themselves in the ballad market during 1655-56-57. The most serious competitor to emerge from the general mêlée was old Francis Grove who had been active during the Wood/Symcock period. He was successful in establishing a large number of ballad copyrights at this time and he, like the Partners, had an eye for the stock ballad, particularly those traditional folksongs of proven popularity.

In 1629, Francis Grove had emerged as one of the assignes of Thomas Symcock and he had at this time three folksongs amongst his copyrights; Woman to the Plow...;[37] The Cruel Mother;[38] and The Banton Northern Lasse.[39] The flurry of new ballad registrations in 1655-56-57 include no less than nineteen familiar folksongs of which seven[40] were claimed by the Ballad Partners and eleven[41] by Francis Grove. Of those entered to Grove, the most notable were the first separate registrations of many of the Robin Hood cycle of ballads.

The historical and biographical details of the ballad partners from 1656 onwards are so well documented in Blagden's [illegible] that it would be merely repetitious to give them here. By his careful study and arrangement of the various imprints appearing after this date, Blagden evolved a series of dated periods that have enabled later researchers to accurately determine some sequence of [illegible] in any collection of ballad sheets belonging to the period 1656 to 1696. These periods have been indicated on the following charts which show the periods of activity of the ballad partners, their successors and the more important competitors. What enables Blagden to determine these details with so much accuracy was a change in policy regarding the sheet imprints made by the Partners in 1656. Henceforth every ballad they issued bore the names of all the extant partners listed in order of seniority. The seniority being dependent not upon the time they had spent within the partnership but the length of time they had been freed from their apprenticeships. Why the partners should have altered their former practice at this time is a puzzle but it also leads to another question - how was the new policy to affect business arrangements within the partnership?

A certain uniformity of typographical style becomes a feature of Ballads published by the Partners after 1656. Previously the broadside ballad, whether issued by the Partners or one of their competitors had no fixed style, the printed sheet being filled in a variety of ways. The wooden hand press that formed the standard equipment of broadside printers until the late 1790's was not a powerful enough machine to allow printers the luxury of a single stroke operation for a full sheet. The conventional practice was to set up a complete form of type to cover the whole sheet but only to slide half of this form under the platen at each stroke of the press. The full folio sheet would vary in size dependent upon the origin of the stock of paper used but the average

would appear to be approximately 17" x 13½" and thus each sheet of the press would be imposed upon a paper area of 8½" x 13½". Odd half-sheet size could vary of course but few ballads were printed on a smaller half-sheet though a number did appear on larger formats, up to 10" x 15" (i.e. large Demy sheets). Until the mid-nineteenth century there was no fixed style of composition within this half-sheet frame. The variations commonly encountered are illustrated below.



A. B.

C. D.

On these earlier broadsides, the use of illustrative [illegible] was by no means accepted practice and very many sheets were [illegible] woodcuts and a small number with tunes in place of [illegible]. Those woodcuts were included, there was almost always an [illegible] illustrations to the subject of the ballad. The [illegible] Mousgrove printed by Henry Gosson bears four separate illustrations.[1]

Above the first two columns are represented a familiar woodcut of a courtier and a portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, whilst above columns three and four are woodcuts of a couple in bed and a knight wielding a sword. Thus the main characters and the principal dramatic incident are illustrated in a crude but effective fashion. This linking of text and illustration is a feature of the early stage of broadside balladry and apart from the efforts of William Dicey in the early eighteenth century it disappears towards the end of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. After 1656, the Ballad Partners fixed upon format 'C' for their production, though the ballad would now be printed in three, four or five columns depending upon its length and the number of woodcuts used. This format was to remain the standard for well over a hundred years and lasted into the nineteenth century.

Although composing the form for a broadside ballad was a comparatively simple task for the printer (or more likely his least experienced apprentice!) still economic considerations lead one to speculate that the change in practice with regard to imprints after 1656 indicates much more than just a public advertisement of the partnership. Composition was an expensive portion of the overall printing charge involved in producing a few hundred copies of a ballad and no printer was willing to leave valuable type set up in a form awaiting orders for copies. Likewise, the unit cost of a broadside depended upon the length of the printing run so that the unit cost of a ballad produced in a run of one hundred copies would be much higher than that

of a run of one thousand copies. Exactly the same considerations apply to jobbing printing today. [illegible] A wanted a few hundred various ballads for his stock, [illegible] easier it would be if his partners also wanted stock. To require all the partners to require stock at the same time is unlikely, only if the stock was already printed and stored in a communal [illegible] such problem existed and the partners had the most satisfactory and economic answer. It is surely this factor that [illegible] joint imprint for no stock could be laid down in the name of just one partner as this would mean having to sell goods in someone elses name. In addition an agreed house style of layout would also have simplified arrangements. We know that a ballad warehouse had existed for a fair length of time before 1689 for in that year William Thackeray made an agreement with John Millet and Alexander Milbourne concerning the new arrangements for dispensing the ballad stock in "ye Antient Ballad Warehouse."[43] It seems a reasonable assumption to regard "Antient" as indicating a period of forty-three years. There is no justification for supposing that the ballad warehouse had existed at an earlier date since there is no extant evidence of the partners selling jointly imprinted ballads. Up until 1656 there had not been a sufficient incentive to cooperate in this fashion; a joint ownership of a substantial number of copyrights being the only property held in common. After 1656, something more was required to hold off the severe competition of Francis Grove and others; the cost savings resulting from the foundation of a common stock of printed copies could have provided the edge they needed.

The series of imprints arranged by Blagden shows the period during which a particular group of stationers published together:

"A. Printed for F. Coles, J. Wright, T. Vere and W. Gilbertson. 1655 - 1658

B. Printed for F. Coles, J. Wright, T. Vere and W. Gilbertson. 1656.

C.	Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere and W. Gilbertson.	[illegible]	[illegible]
D.	" F. Coles, T. Vere, W. Gilbertson and J. Wright.	[illegible]	[illegible]
E.	" F. Coles, T. Vere and J. Wright.	[illegible]	[illegible]
F.	" F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke.	[illegible]	[illegible]
G.	" F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke W. Thackeray and T. Passinger.	[illegible]	[illegible]
H.	" M. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke W. Thackeray and T. Passinger.	[illegible]	[illegible]
J.	" T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke T. Thackeray and T. Passinger.	1680	- 1682
K.	" J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger.	1681	- 1684
L.	" J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger.	1684	- 1686
M.	" W. Thackeray and T. Passinger	1686	- 1688
N.	" W. Thackeray.	1688	- 1689
O.	" W. Thackeray, J. Millet and A. Milbourn.	1689	- 1692
P.	" W. Thackeray, E. Millet and A. Milbourn.	1692	" [illegible]

It is important when studying the above list that the date a stationer entered into the partnership is not taken to be the date at which his interest in the ballad market commences, for many had been deeply embroiled in this trade well before they gained entry into the monopoly and in some cases it was the extent of their previous interests that facilitated the entry - they in fact 'merged interests', as the common current aphorism has it. These earlier individual period of activity are indicated on the accompanying charts in red. In addition W. Thackeray, T. Passinger and [illegible] Whitwood formed a useful cooperative before the former pair entered the partnership.[45] This trio of course had their connection with the founder John Wright through Whitwood having been an apprentice to Gilbertson. Of more importance is the coming together of Grove's stock and that of the partnership.

Grove died in 1665, probably falling victim to the Great Plague and his former apprentice William Thackeray appears to have successfully secured his ballad copies. He teamed up with Thomas Passinger who had taken possession of his former master's shop by marrying his widow, Sarah Tyus. Since Tyus had printed much of Grove's stock, the acquisition of a useful body of ballads, chapbooks and other ephemera, together with the type, ornaments and blocks would have made William Thackeray and Thomas Passinger very serious competitors to the partners. In addition to having taken possession of a popular range of copies, they had a youthful aggressiveness that was now largely absent from the partnership. Nevertheless wily old Francis Coles let them prove themselves before accepting them into full partnership just two years before his death.

The fire in 1666 destroyed the shops of the then three active partners and in opening new premises they all moved away from the Old Bailey to Vine Street on Saffron Hill (Francis Coles), Giltspur Street, adjacent to Pye Corner (Thomas Vere) and Little Britain (John Wright, 3.) All three localities being in the district of west Smithfield. At Pye corner they established the replacement Ballad Warehouse so that the ballad trade was centred here amongst all those printing shops, bookshops and taverns that were to be so vital to the broadside ballad trade for nearly two hundred years.

The years following the Great Fire saw another dramatic change in practice with the fast growing public demand for chapbooks. As a consequence the partners added a great number of these to their common stock though they also maintained individual interests in some items and even consorted with competitors in the ballad trade to produce chapbooks. Some of the items they acquired were older chapbooks from Francis Grove's stock such as Samuel Rowlands' Doctor Merrieman, which Robert Ibbetson had printed for Grove in 1657 and later was printed by

Edward Crowch for the Partners.[46] The most significant [illegible] of the wholesale acquisition of Grove's stock was the [illegible] into the Stationers' Registers on March 1st, 1675 when Coles, Vere, Wright(3) and a new partner, Clarke, listed one hundred and [illegible] titles including thirty-three chapbooks,[47] the remainder being [illegible].

> "Entred by mutuall consent of the said Fra: Coles, Tho: Veere, John Wright & John Clark (and by an order of a full court of assistants) to each of them the said Francis Coles, Thomas Veere, John Wright and John Clark severally a fourth part of all the bookes, ballads and copies, or parts of bookes, ballads & copies hereafter following — viz " [48]

The new folksongs included in this list were; The Nightingale's Song, The Knight and the beggar wench, The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield, The Forlorn Lover, King Henry II and the Miller of Mansfield and A Noble riddle wisely expended.[49]

A significant incentive for accepting the new man, John Clarke, into the partnership was the new privilege that Charles Killigrew, Master of the Revels, had granted to him which gave Clarke the sole right to licence all ballad singers.[50] Clarke held this until his term expired in 1682. There can have been no other reason for there were no other connections that we know of between Clarke and the Partners and in addition, at no time, before 1675 or after, was Clarke a member of the Stationers' Company. The entry of 1675 refers to him as a 'Master' but this was not within the ranks of the stationers.

In 1680 Francis Coles died and was followed by Vere in 1682, Wright (3) in 1684 and Clarke in 1686. Despite the short time they had been in partnership with Coles, Thackeray and Passinger continued to operate the ballad stock with a conservativeness that one feels Coles would have approved of. Passinger died in 1688 leaving his interests in the Ballad Warehouse to his nephew and former apprentice, Thomas Passinger Jr., but the latter did not attempt to carry on the family ballad traditions.

Thackeray had sole ownership of the ballad stock for almost [illegible] years, during which time he issued a large broadside trade list, running [illegible] hundred and one ballads and numerous other sheets and [illegible]. As Blagden suggests, this must have been a cumbersome list for [illegible] chapmen to have handled, though no doubt the multitude of [illegible] and hostelries around West Smithfield would have displayed it in a fashion that would have been impossible with a conventional chapbook list. The extensive range of ballads he had then for sale [illegible] almost all of the 1675 entry and adds almost as many new items, some of these latter ballads being of considerable antiquity. The new folksongs added were: Benjamin O; Cupid trapanned; Children in the Wood; Fight at Malaga; Hunting the Hare; Politick Beggar-Man; Bold Keeper; King and the Abbot; Diddle diddle; Lord Thomas (and Fair Eleanor); Locks and Bolts do hinder; Fair Maid of Islington; Tom of all Trades; Sir Eglamore; Suffolk Miracle.[52]

On January 18th, 1689 an indenture was drawn up between William Thackeray, John Millet and Alexander Milbourn which re-instituted a ballad partnership and provided for equal shares in the Ballad Warehouse. Prior to this agreement, Millet had been proving a serious and successful competitor, who as a printer was able to cut costs that Thackeray, a bookseller could not effect. All three were greatly interested in chapbook production and this became the mainstay of their business. This agreement is preserved in manuscript at the end of the fifth volume of Samuel Pepys' Collection of Ballads. It gives us the only fully detailed information we have of the operations and financial involvements that must have been operated on each occasion a new man joined the Partners after they had formed the Ballad Warehouse stock in 1656. Blagden quotes the preamble to this agreement but it is of so much interest that one feels a full transcript is not out of place here -- see Appendix A. Following this indenture in the Pepys volume, there is a full list of the items covered in the Thackeray trade list with, as Blagden correctly

states, one addition; the ballad Young man and [illegible]. [illegible] supports Blagden's dating of the original trade list [illegible] towards the middle of 1689.

Whilst sole proprietor of the Ballad [illegible], [illegible] increasing competition from several quarters [illegible] aggressive elements was a strong "conger" of [illegible] led by Phillip Brooksby, a former apprentice of Elizabeth [illegible]. With Jonah Deacon, Josiah Blare and John Back, Brooksby was particularly involved with topical ballads and in this respect differed from the Partners who were far more conservative. After the death of Coles and Vere however they took an increasing interest in the registration and sale of the more traditional stock ballads and had soon a useful list of copyrights. They also independentaly sold chapbooks in large numbers and like most of their ephemeral publications these were printed by William Onley. Of this group of stationers there was a line of inheritance back to the original partnership, for Deacon had been an apprentice to Mary Wright, the widow of John Wright (2), and had been freed on May 17th, 1671. Blare, a former apprentice of Thomas Passinger, had set up a business at the Looking Glass on London Bridge in 1683 where he sold a wide range of books and single sheet publications. Back kept a bookshop at the Black-Boy on London Bridge and had been there since obtaining his freedom from his master, Thomas Passinger in 1682. Unlike Blare and Back, the other two members of the group chose to compete in the heart of West Smithfield, close to the Ballad Warehouse; Deacon at the Rainbow, Holborn, and later at the Angel in Giltspur Street and Brooksby at both the Golden Ball in Pye Corner and the Golden Harp and Ball, near the Bore Tavern, Pye Corner.

Unlike the ballad partners, the Brooksby group did not in general share their holdings of chapbook copyrights and there is clear evidence

of Brooksby being involved with the Partners in some joint imprints of chapbooks in 1681[53] and again the following year.[54] [illegible] jointly published chapbooks appeared later in Thackeray's [illegible].[55]

Following Millet's death in 1692 and the perfunctory attempts of his wife to keep the printing shop in operation, the two remaining partners Thackeray and Milbourn, gave much of their printing work to William Onley. Although there is no supporting evidence, it is believed though Onley had entered into some type of formal agreement with the partners. Then without explanation, William Thackeray no longer competed with his younger rivals and seems to have retired from active bookselling. For at least another six years, until April 30th, 1698 he remained in contact with his fellow stationers for on February 5th, 1695 he made assignments to William Wild and on April 30th, 1698 he made nine assignments of chapbooks to Jonah Deacon and John Wild.[56]

With Alexander Milbourn's disappearance in 1695, the ballad trade reverted to a period of chaotic scrambling after copies and a variety of imprints appeared with one common feature, there were few broadsides that Onley did not print and few that did not have at least one of the successors names upon it. When Phillip Brooksby died in 1696, his widow Elizabeth carried on quite successfully and maintained the relstionship with Deacon, Blare and Back. One feature that occurs at this time is the increasing use of general imprints; "printed for the booksellers on London Bridge" or "printed for the booksellers at Pye Corner" or both. One thing is certain, the Ballad Warehouse had gone and there was no longer any pretence by the various interested booksellers in claiming exclusive copyrights in ballads. If Onley had acquired much of the old stock of the defunct partnership then he seems to have spread the benefits around in a liberal manner, either because the topical ballad was now the centre of attention or because chapbooks had usurped the place once occupied by ballads with the populace. This domination of the ballad trade by a

printer rather than a bookseller heralded a state of affairs that was to continue until the ballad-sheet finally disappeared from the streets completely in the early twentieth century. Yet there was a brief final flourish from the ranks of the wealthy dominee[illegible]. Deacon died in 1701, Back in 1703 and Blare in 1706, but [illegible] followed (and slightly overlapped) by another group of booksellers who also had formed a loose alliance for the mutual publishing of ballads and chapbooks. This group one might term the second generation though it should be understood that their liaison was an altogether more fragile affair that the first group's arrangement. Once again there was a connection back to the founder partners in that Charles Bates had been an apprentice to Jonah Deacon. With Bates at the Sun and Bible in Giltspur Street, Joshua Conyers at the Black Raven in Fetter Lane, Charles Brown on London Bridge and Thomas Norris at one of the two shops under the sign of the Looking Glass on London Bridge,[57] again there was the same division of interests in the two regions of the city. After 1703 it is possible that J. Walter bought the old Brooksby business at the Golden Ball in Pye Corner and joined this second succession. He may also have married Widow Brooksby, as traditional practice amongst the poorer journeymen printers who wanted to "get on" seems to have been centred on trade-marriages of this type.[58]

With the disappearance of William Onley in 1709, the printing of ballads moved from West Smithfield to London Bridge and in particular to the second Looking Glass. At this shop were Edward Midwinter and possibly Charles Brown, both closely connected with Thomas Norris; so closely in fact that one wonders if the second premises was an offshoot of the main Norris business and Midwinter an employee. During 1710 Midwinter moved away from London Bridge and opened a printing shop in Pye Corner under the sign of the Star. From here he both printed and sold broadsides. Much of his business however was for the London Bridge

booksellers and it is probable that the sheets he sold [illegible] his shop to hawkers and chapmen were imprinted for [illegible] Conyers and Bates. The common typography and use of [illegible] known association of Midwinter and Norris is the only [illegible] of Midwinter's work at this period for on single sheets [illegible] he seldom included his name in the imprint. His ties with [illegible] Norris were made stronger when in 1720, he married Elizabeth, [illegible] widowed daughter of Norris and possibly took on a greater [illegible] for Norris' business, for it is generally accepted that during the early part of 1720, Norris retired from bookselling and took up residence at his Holloway home.[59]

It is all but impossible to compile an absolutely reliable chronological sequence of imprints for the first and second groups of successors but if it is understood that there was a good deal of over-lapping in the following list and that the dates given are based upon the little positive evidence that survives, then one can surmise a picture as follows:

a) 1682 - 1696 — Printed for P. Brooksby, J. Deacon, J. Blare and J. Back

b) 1686 - 1688 or 1693 — Printed by and for A. M(ilbourn) and sold by,
a/ the booksellers of London.
b/ the booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge.

c) March to November 1689 Or during 1693. — Printed by and for [illegible] Onley at the Angel in Little Britain; and A. Milbourn.

d) 1693 — Printed for A.M., [illegible], and Thomas Thackeray at the Angel in Duck Lane.

e) 1693 - 1695 — Printed by and for Alex. Milbourn at the Stationers' Arms in Green Arbour-court in the Little Old Bailey.

f) 1693 - 1695 — Printed by and for [illegible] and A.M., and sold by:
a/ the Booksellers.
b/ the Booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge.
c/ J. Deacon at the Angel in Giltspur Street.

d/ C. Bates at the Bible and Sun in Pye Corner.

e/ J. Conyers in [illegible]

g)	1693 - 1695	Printed for A.M. and W.O.
h)	1696 - 1703	Printed by W. Onley for E. [illegible], Golden Ball in Pye Corner.
j)	1699 - 1702	Printed by W. Onley for J. Walter at the Hand and Pen, High Holborn.
k)	1699 - 1700	Printed by T. Norris for M. [illegible] in Giltspur Street.
l)	1699 - 1702	Printed by C. Brown and T. Norris for J. Walter at the Hand and Pen in High Holborn.
m)	1701 - 1705	Printed by and for W.O. and sold by B. Deacon at the Angel in Giltspur Street.
n)	1703	Printed by T. Norris and C. Bates for J. Walter at the Golden Ball in Pye Corner.
p)	1705	Printed by and for W.O. and sold by B. Deacon in Giltspur Street and C. Bates in Pye Corner.
q)	before 1706	Printed by and for W.O. and sold by J. Blare on London Bridge.
r)	1706 - 1709	Printed by and for W.O. for T. Norris at the Looking Glass on London Bridge.
s)	1705 - 1709	Printed by and for W.O. and sold by C. Bates in Pye Corner.
t)	1709 - 1712	Printed by and for T. Norris and C. Brown, and sold at the Looking Glass on London Bridge.
u)	1709 - 1720	Printed by and for T. Norris at the Looking Glass on London Bridge.
v)	? before 1709	Printed by C. Bates and T. Norris for C. Bates, Sun and Bible, Giltspur-street.
w)	? before 1709	Printed for C. Bates at the White Hart in West Smithfield.
x)	1709 - 1712	Printed for C. Bates next the Crown Tavern in West Smithfield.
y)	1710 - 1712	Printed for C. Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye Corner.
z)	1710 - 1720	Printed for T. Norris at the Looking Glass on London Bridge.

aa) 1712 - 1720 Printed for S. Bates at the [illegible] Corner.

bb) after 1720 Printed for J. Hodges at the [illegible] London Bridge.

cc) after 1720 Printed for J. Hinson at the [illegible] Corner.

Following the passing of the new copyright act of 17[illegible], there was an ever increasing proliferation of provincial presses [illegible] of newspaper printers in particular. Most of these newspaper proprietors were also deeply involved with the printing and widespread distribution of broadside ballads and chapbooks. As far as these latter forms are concerned, their models were taken from the London trade with whom there was a close connection. The entrepeneur of the eighteenth century who grasped and held a firm rein on the ballad trade was William Dicey, the son of a quack medicine seller from the Cambridgeshire/Huntingdonshire fens.

Notes

1. Arber, IV.93.

2. Blagden, Cyprian., "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in Studies in Bibliography, Vol.7, Virginia, 1954. pp.161-180.

3. Wing, Donald., Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of Books in English Printed in Other Countries 1641 - 1700., New York, 1951.

4. Arber, II,725; 1

5. Greg, W.W. "On Certain false dates in Shakespearian Quartos," The Library, I, ix (1908), pp.113-31; 381-409.

6. McKerrow, R.B., General Editor. A Dictionary of Printers And Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, And of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640. Bibliographical Society, London 1910., reprinted 1968.

7. Blagden, op.cit., p.166n.

8. Arber, IV.456.

9. McKerrow, op.cit.m p.118.

10. Arber, III.36.

11. STC 10668.

12. STC 22334 and 22335.

13. STC 19076., "P., N. 'Come worldling see what paines I have do take."

14. STC 23725-23817. Of the ninety-two listed items, Gosson was responsible for publishing thirty;seven.

15. Pepys, Samuel., Collection of Ballads, Vol.I, pp.78-79.

16. ibid., Vol.I. pp.92-93.

17. ibid., Vol.I. p.364.

18. ibid., Vol.I. p.426.

19. Roxburgh ballads, British Museum., Vol.I, p.340.

20. ibid., Vol.I, p.186.

21. Pepys, op.cit., Vol.I. p.426.

22. Whitelaw, Alexander., The Book of Scottish Ballads, London, n.d., p.283-4. The text quoted here is followed by an oral variant noted by the Rev. William Grey of Lincoln.

23. Shake-speares Sonnets. Never before Imprinted. At London By G. Eld for T.T. and are to be solde by John Wright, Dwelling at Christ Church Gate, 1609. STC 22353.

24. STC 17430 in 1609; STC 17431 in 1611; STC 17432 in 161[illegible] STC [illegible] in 1619; STC 17434 in 1620; STC 17435 in 1624 and STC [illegible] in [illegible].

25. Arber, IV.140.

26. Blagden, op.cit., p.166n.

27. Plomer, Henry R., A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Pr[illegible] were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to [illegible], Bibliographical Society, London 1907. Reprinted 1968. [illegible]. By failing to recognize 'Wright J' and John Wright (1) as [illegible] and by assuming that the latter died in 1658 (his son's death) instead of 1646, Plomer was led to considerable confusion in assign[illegible].

28. Pepys, op.cit., Vol.I.39. A comfortable new Ballad of a Dr[illegible] a Sinner, and Vol.I.86, Titus Andronicus Complaints.

29. Pepys, ibid. Vol.I.96 - 97; 286 and 358 -59.

30. Blagden, op.cit. p.166.

31. ibid.

31a. ibid.

32. Huing Collection of Black-Letter ballads, No.108. This is not "The Seaman's Song of Captain Ward," — Rollins,2390 and 2393. Captain Ward and the 'Rainbow' was never entered into the Registers of the Stationers' Company, despite the early printing by Francis Coles. See Child, 287.

33. Roxburghe collection, I.98.

34. Roxburghe collection, I.44.

35. Rollins, 289.

36. Rollins, 2999.

37. Rollins, 1507.

38. Rollins, 405.

39. Rollins,2844. In this instance the identical ballad was registered eleven days earlier, on August, 3, 1640, to Richard Harper; Rollins, 2843.

40. March 13, 1656; Of the Soldier and Peggy.
ditto The beautiful shepherdesse of Arcadia.
March 26, 1656; The Sinner's Redemption.
May 15, 1656; The honour of an apprentice of London.
ditto Merry Tom of all Trades.
April 17, 1657; Robin Hood and the Tanner.
April 18, 1657; Little John and the Four Beggars.

41. March 12, 1656; The politick beggar-man.
ditto Renowned Robin Hood.
-:- Robin Hood and the beggar.
-:- Robin Hood and the Bishop.
March 26, 1656; Robin Hood's Progress to Nottingham.

May 8, 1656; Arthur of Bradley.
June 2, 1656; Robin Hood's goulden [illegible].
July 3, 1656; The Friar well fitted.
February 21, 1657; warning for married [illegible] Mrs Jane Renalls, a west [illegible]
July 16, 1657; Robin Hood and the Butcher.
March 26, 1658; John Armstrongs last [illegible].

42. Pepys, op.cit. I.364.

43. ibid. V.439.

44. Blagden, op.cit. p.162.

45. A run of sheets exists in Roxburghe Ballads [illegible] Vol.III,pt.1, 9b, 26, 27, 35, 53, 66, 68, 69, 77 and [illegible].

46. Blagden, op.cit. p.170.

47. Eyre, II.496-501.

48. ibid.

49. Rollins, 1945, 1384, 1308, 907, 1367 and 1959.

50. Ebsworth, J.W., ed. The Bagford Ballads. Hertford, 1878. Vol.II.p.1117.

51. Bagford collection, B.M. Shelf mark, C.40.m.10, No.2. Reproduced in reduced photo-facsimile in John Pitts — Ballad Printer, by Leslie Shepard; see between pp.20-21.

52. Nos. 222, 281, 47, 279, 97, 143, 260, 178, 195, 105, 190, 289, 263, 191, 184 respectively.

53. Pepys Penny Merriments, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Vol.II.pp.927 - 950. The Royal Garland, Printed by T.H. for W.Thackeray, T.Passinger, J.Clark and P.Brooksby. 1681.

54. ibid. Vol.II.pp.321 - 416. Loves School: Or, a New Merry Book of Complements. Printed for W.Thackeray, T.Passinger, P.Brooksby and J.Clarke. 1682.

55. Merry Books, Nos.12 and 19.

56. Eyre, III.451 and III.476-7.

57. Two such shops are examined by H.R.Plomer in " The Booksellers of London Bridge," The Library, Vol.4. N.S., 1903. pp.28-46.

58. It will be remembered that three of Pavier's daughters married founder members of the ballad partnership; Thomas Passinger married Widow Tyus, and in a later period of ballad printing history John Cluer married William Dicey's sister, Elizabeth. The latter, when widowed, married her foreman Thomas Cobb, who in turn sold the business to William Dicey. Thomas Gent almost married the widowed Mrs Dodd but instead went to York and married the widowed Mrs Bourne to take possession of the York press. Years later, Jemmy Catnach's sister married her foreman James Paul after she had been widowed and had inherited the old business.

59. Plomer, Henry H. A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers ..... 1668 to 1725., p.220.

Chapter 3 — Eighteenth century ballad printing in London and the provinces

When the Licensing Act of 1662 expired in 1695, there was an immediate proliferation of printing houses set up in the larger towns and cities of England. Plomer has remarked that within five years presses were established in Bristol, Exeter, Chester, Newcastle, Gateshead, Norwich and Ipswich.[1] Six years earlier, in 1689, John White, senior, had received from King William III the appointment of "Printer to Majesties Printer for the City of York and the Five Northern Counties."[2] This reward was given to White in recognition of his foolhardiness in printing during November, 1688, William of Orange's famous manifesto, despite the threats of severe punishment to any printer so doing, issued by King James. White appears to have been the only printer in England bold enough to ignore the threat - perhaps he felt the distance from York to London was sufficient to protect him from the royal wrath - at any event he was jailed at Hull Castle for his pains.

The effect of the rapid expansion of the trade was to increase the amount of 'pirate' printing and to severely reduce the power of the Stationers' Company to protect their members assignments of copyright. During the fourteen years between the end of Licensing and the promulgation of the new Copyright Act (8 Anne, c.19.) in 1709, the free-for-all spread into London and in the mêlée, the Ballad Partnership was irrevocably shattered. In his character sketch of William Onley, John Dunton tells us that Onley worked quickly and was most popular with the journeymen printers, and "being very ingenious, by his own projections he keeps two printing houses constantly at work; one in Little Britain, and the other in Bond's stables, near Chancery Lane."[3] This efficiency no doubt impressed the trade but it did not disguise the fact that Onley was "pirating" as much as he could. Shortly before Onley died in 1709, John Dow remarked:

"How many copies of other mens has Mr. [illegible]
whether the booksellers of London, particularly [illegible]
the Bridge, were not his customers for the [illegible]

Of "those on the Bridge" no doubt How had [illegible] Norris particularly in mind. At any event, following [illegible] in 1709, Thomas Norris made a strong effort to [illegible] and chapbook publishing his special province. To this end he used both his own presses and Edward Midwinter's shop to provide the stock. In addition he formed a partnership with Charles Brown which was made public on September 20, 1712 in the massive entry of one hundred and seventy-four titles into the Register of the Stationers' Company.[5] Included in the entry were seventy-one ballads; six broadsides; forty-six, one and a half sheet chapbooks; twenty-three, three sheet chapbooks and twenty-eight, assorted bound or stitched 32 mo. books. Without exception, the ballads and chapbooks had belonged originally to the Ballad Partners and their successors, and despite the honesty with which Brown and Norris added the word "old" after each title, they evidently anticipated creating another monopoly - why else would they spend four pounds seven shillings upon such a registration? The evidence of extant broadside ballad collections suggests that so far as the ballad trade is concerned, in London at least, they maintained a stranglehold upon the trade until Norris' premature retirement in 1720. Thereafter, Edward Midwinter made a half-hearted attempt to continue the business but as he did not have the wealth and influence of his father-in-law (he had married "with Mrs. Elizabeth Norris, a young widow, daughter of Mr. Thomas Norris, a very rich bookseller on London Bridge, whose country seat was at Holloway...")[6] he was unable to hold the trade together and the powerful competition of John Cluer, a specialist in engraved song sheets, and his brother-in-law, William Pixey, proved too much for him. Yet once again, though the trade was not passed on in direct business inheritance, the printers who emerged in the next few years proves to have been directly connected with their predecessors, either as

apprentices or journeymen printers.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century (ca.1700) the young London engraver, John Cluer, married Elizabeth [illegible], the daughter of a Fenland carrier, Thomas Dicey.[7] In 1704 they celebrated the birth of a son who was named Dicey Cluer. Reciprocating Cluer's brother-in-law, William and his wife Mary called their [illegible] son John Cluer Dicey. Unhappily, Dicey Cluer died before his tenth birthday, in 1713. By then John Cluer had a successful and well established business operating from a shop at the sign of The Maidenhead, opposite the East door of St. Mary-le-Bow in Bow Lane. Cluer's trade appears to have been in engraved music sheets, ballads, and publications requiring a great deal of art-work. He also involved himself in maps and calligraphy primers. In addition he had acquired the antique plates of John Speed's Atlas of Great Britain and no doubt made good use of them.[8] Many of his productions, particularly his song sheets, he sent up to St. Ives in Huntingdonshire where his brother-in-law sold them from his shop in Fish Street - since re-named Wellington Street.

In August 1710, the young Thomas Gent[9] arrived in London after absconding from his apprenticeship to a Dublin printer named Powell. He soon found employment with Edward Midwinter who indentured him as an apprentice to serve a period of seven years, from 2nd October 1710 to 3rd October 1717. Since Midwinter was almost exclusively concerned with the production of chapbooks and broadsides for direct sale to hawkers, this class of printing was to affect Gent's later career, for in Midwinter's shop the work of an apprentice entailed not only the sundry tasks surrounding the craft of printing but also the writing of chapmen's literature. This is demonstrated in the 1772 edition of "Judas Iscariot by Mr. Thomas Gent... Originally written in LONDON at the age of 18; and late improved in 80."[10] The workload in Midwinter's shop was considerable, for if we are to believe Gent, he and his fellow

apprentices and journeymen were kept fully occupied from the early morning until midnight, keeping the hawkers satisfied. [illegible] must have been time to socialize amongst other typefounders in London for it was at this period that he struck up an acquaintance with Robert Raikes, then apprenticed to John Barber,[11] a master printer who resided in Queen's Head Alley. This friendship was to prove invaluable to both their future careers.

Robert Raikes came from a well established middle-class family in Yorkshire.[12] His great-grandfather, Richard, was one of three sons who had occupied prominent positions as merchants in Hull - one, Thomas Raikes, achieving the distinction of being Mayor on three occasions. His grandfather, the Rev. Richard Raikes had studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge and then became vicar of Hessle, and his father, the Rev. Timothy Raikes attended St. John's College, Cambridge before becoming vicar of Tickhill and later vicar of Hessle, near Hull, where he died in 1722; the year his son founded The Gloucester Journal. Robert was baptised on April 22, 1690 and at the age of fifteen was apprenticed for a period of seven years to Master John Barber. Having completed his term on October 2, 1712, Raikes returned to Yorkshire to take up employment as a journeyman with John White, senior, Royal printer to the City of York and the five northern counties.

At the time Raikes left for the York press, his friend Thomas Gent had still a term of five years to serve in order to complete his apprenticeship with Midwinter. Despite the usually rigid observance of custom regarding apprenticeships, Midwinter appears to have prematurely released Gent in 1713 whilst still extending his protection. It may be that Midwinter was going through one of the many periods of financial embarrassment that plagued him throughout his career, at any event Gent was freed and was able to undertake casual work with various printers around the city

and so to purchase the tools of his trade; a composing stick, galleys, a bodkin ("to correct the letters") and a galley. He is known to have worked in the shop of a Mr. Mears (more likely Mr. W. Mears, as identified by Plomer[13]) who kept a general printing business in Stationers. It was here that Gent first encountered the rather crude initiation ceremonies which all young printers went through when first joining a new establishment. In his own particular case this initiation involved paying "Ben-money" and then being dubbed.

> "It commenced by walking round the chapel (printing rooms being called such, because first begun to be practised in one at Westminster Abbey), singing an alphabetical anthem, tuned literally to the vowels. Striking me, kneeling, with a broadsword, and pouring ale upon my head, my titles were exhibited much to this effect:- Thomas Gent, Baron of College Green, Earl of Fingall, with power to the limits of Dublin Bar, Captain-General of the Teagues, near the Lake of Allen, and Lord High Admiral over all the Bogs in Ireland." [14]

Having submitted to this rite, Gent was required again to pay for the proceedings. Less than a month later, it was determined that Gent was not a freeman and he was therefore discharged as a foreigner. Just at this time, John White in York wrote to Midwinter, asking him to recommend a sound journeyman printer. At first Gent decided against leaving London but within a few weeks, after a chapman named Isaac had spoken in praise of Gent's qualities as a journeyman, White made a direct approach offering him eighteen pounds per annum with board, lodging and washing; Gent at once accepted and arrived at the York premises in Petergate on Sunday, April 25th, 1714. He found everything to his liking and noted that White kept a busy shop, there being few active establishments in the north of England at that time.

Whilst at York, Gent became romantically involved with Alice Guy, maidservant to Mrs. White, she being thirty-two years old, he barely twenty-two. However the news of Gent's sudden departure from Dublin and his breaking indentures became known to White who then looked rather less

favourably upon the young journeyman. Perhaps in order to avoid both White and Powell in Dublin, Gent decided against renewing his annual contract with the York press and instead decided to return to Ireland. No sooner had he arrived, after a rough crossing, than his old master threatened immediate legal proceedings and Gent found it necessary to return to London and the shop of Edward Midwinter. He stayed just over a-year, until in 1717 he was made a member of the Company of Stationers and a little later, a freeman of the city of London. During his final year with Midwinter, the news reached London of John White's death. The York press was continued by his widow Grace and there is some suggestion that part of his estate assisted his son John in establishing himself in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, though young John had set up his press some years earlier, perhaps in 1708.

Having gained his freedom, Gent, with an apparent display of ingratitude, left his master, Edward Midwinter, to seek a better establishment. He attempted to gain employ with Wilkins, a printer in Little Britain, but was rejected since his experience in a mere ballad house was deemed insufficient to be of benefit to Mr. Wilkins' "polite business". He then appears to have taken such casual work that came his way until, in 1718, he was offered a partnership with Samuel Hasbert of Norwich, a printer who had set up a press in 1706 in Magdalen Street. At the same time he received news of the failing health of his parents in Ireland. He therefore regretfully declined the offer but,

> "took care to recommend Mr. Robert Raikes in my room, who is now settled master in Gloucester." 15

After his return from Ireland, Gent went to work for Edward Midwinter's rival, Francis Clifton, and so effective became Clifton's competition that Midwinter was soon pressing Gent to return to him. Whilst with Clifton, trouble - usually to do with politics - was never far away and together or separately, Gent and Clifton appear to have

proceeded from one scrape with the law to another.

Edward Midwinter at one time had [illegible] Richard Burridge for two shillings and sixpence [illegible] acquainted with Burridge since his days as an [illegible] would send him to Newgate to collect copies - [illegible] either for debt or for writing a burlesque [illegible] When Burridge was finally sent to the Gate-house, [illegible], it was too far to collect copy so that Gent was pressed [illegible] pamphleteer and ballad writer. Whilst with Clifton, Gent received visits from Burridge but soon discovered that Burridge was double-dealing; selling fresh copy first to Clifton and then to any other printer unscrupulous enough to buy goods already sold. Obviously Gent had spread this news around for soon Burridge came to the shop and there proceeded to abuse both Gent and Clifton - for his pains he received a sound beating. In retaliation he ran to Sir William Withers, accusing Gent of stealing half-a-guinea from him. Withers was forced to issue a warrant and Gent was to be imprisoned though not without Withers' promise that he would speak up in the young man's defence. Gent went into hiding and his friends pressed Burridge to drop all charges. Burridge agreed, but only if in return Clifton would drop the window-breaking charge. Clifton refused saying that he required a full and open justification of his character. Gent remained in hiding and Burridge therefore had the warrant served upon Clifton who was promptly confined. Clifton requested Gent to visit him but the latter had heard that Clifton was enraged by the fact that the warrant had still not been served upon Gent so wisely he declined the invitation. Once again, Midwinter came to young Gent's rescue and offered him immediate employment which Gent accepted with alacrity. When the case finally came to court, Clifton was released and so was Burridge. Gent's warrant now no longer applied.

Gent stayed with Midwinter until the latter's [illegible] Elizabeth Norris, a young widow, and daughter of [illegible] wealthy London Bridge stationer. Evidently, [illegible] good choice of a second wife (his first having [illegible] since Gent observes [illegible].

"Both the dwelling house and printing-office in [illegible] were made larger, by addition of the next [illegible]..." He

For a while, Gent freelanced though keeping a close association with Midwinter and, inexplicably, Clifton. In 1722 all [illegible] for a brief period when they were jointly accused of printing some offensive matter concerning the imprisoned Bishop of Rochester. Later the same year, John Hoyle, an old friend from York, brought news to Gent that his sweetheart, Alice, had married Charles Bourne, his rival in the York press. Gent promptly wrote a ballad, "The Forsaken Lover's Letter To His Former Sweetheart" which he gave to Dodd to print. We are told that Dodd printed thousands of copies.

At the beginning of 1723 Midwinter asked Gent to wrap up all the type. Such an occurrence implied to Gent a move or else an attempt to prevent a seizure for debt. It proved to be the latter for Midwinter was in extreme financial difficulties and had to flee to the Mint. His wife left to return to her father and Gent tells us, "Thus parting, I became quite out of subjection to any Master," though his conduct throughout the later years he spent with Midwinter indicates that he very seldom let loyalty to any master stand in the way of his own advancement. For the next two years he remained in London, working firstly for Henry Woodfall and then for the widowed Mrs. [illegible]. During this period he published on his own account a collection of songs, an emblem book and a "Preparation for Death". However no copies appear to survive of any of these works. In 1724, Phillip [illegible], a former partner of Midwinter's came to tell Gent that his first sweetheart was

free to remarry since the death of her husband. Gent [illegible] a perfunctary leave of Mrs. Dodd telling her that he was [illegible] Ireland for a while but should he not return, she would [illegible] difficulty in replacing him. The leave-taking was delicate since he had formed a closer than usual employer-employee relationship with Mrs. Dodd. He went straightway to York and joined his [illegible] Allen, though decency caused them to put off their marriage for a few months. John White in Newcastle was of course very much against the [illegible] he saw the opportunity of adding the York press to his business in Newcastle. On December 10, 1724, Gent married and took over the role and title of Master printer to the City of York.

Despite its relative unimportance, the sleepy little market town of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire can boast of having had three newspapers before the end of the year 1719. This is in itself somewhat remarkable and completely inexplicable save only the fact that it was where Robert Raikes and William Dicey chose to start their careers as newspaper proprietors.

For not altogether altruistic reasons, Thomas Gent had effected the move of Raikes from York to Norwich in 1718. However by June, Raikes was left Norwich to join John Fisher, the printer of the St. Ives Postboy.[17] Fisher's business failed with the last issue of June 16, 1718, 1718 whereupon the following week a new St. Ives Postboy was issued, not from Tebbs Lane, but from Water Lane under the imprint of Robert Raikes. The last known copy issued by Raikes is dated 6 Feb. 1719,[18] and we are then led to understand that Raikes took into partnership, William Dicey; this latter having then a business in Fish Street, St. Ives, where he sold various stationers' goods, including ballads, song sheets, writing paper and Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops. It would appear wrong to assume this immediate partnership however as the evidence is contrary. On

October 13, 1719, was issued the first copy of a new newspaper

"St.Ives Mercury, or the Impartial Intelligencer, [illegible]
A Collection of the most Material Occurrences Foreign and Domestick.
Together with An Account of Trade." 19

This new production survives in only one copy— an issue of Friday, November 16, 1719; and it was issued with the following [illegible]

"St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire: Printed by William Dicey, over the Bridge, where all sorts of Books are Printed. (Price three Half-Pence) " 20

There is no mention whatsoever of Robert Raikes' involvement at this date and it may well be that the reason for this was explained by evidence once in the possession of Herbert Norris. He reported that the newspaper was prosecuted by Sir Edward Lawrence and fined.[21] He identifies this action with the St. Ives Mercury but it could just have been the St. Ives Postboy of Raikes, for the latter was often inclined to offend the establishment by reporting its dealings too precisely. Perhaps, and it is mere conjecture, Raikes was put out of business in St.Ives and became at first, a silent partner in the Mercury.

Already Dicey was demonstrating the range of products he sold and the beginnings of his entrepreneurial flair in obtaining a widespread distribution. The advertisements added to the surviving copy of the St. Ives Mercury include one chapbook and a list of other available oddments;

"This day is published (Price Two pence) A Consolatory Epistle to the Jacks of Great Britain. Written originally in Spanish, on occasion of the taking of Vigo by my Lord Cobham; by an Irish, Spanish, Romish, Runaway Rebel—Captain. Made English by a Gentleman of Oxford.

Sold at the Printing-office in St. Ives, and by the Men that carry the News: Of whom also (and at the Printing Office aforementioned any person may be furnished with all sorts of double and single Sheet-Maps; large and small Copper Prints, as Heads, Landskips, Battle-pieces &c. fit for Gentlemens Halls and Stair-Cases, as likewise all sorts of the newest Play-house Songs, engrav'd (with the Notes for the Voice and Flute) on Copper-Plates, as cheap as at London. And fine Dutch Writing Paper for 7d a Quire.

N.B. The Aforementioned Pamphlet is to be had of W.Smith in Cambridge and of M.Smith in the Corn-Market in Bedford." 22

In his monograph upon the bicentenary of the Gloucester Journal Godwin Chance originated some legendary lore concerning the beginnings of William Dicey which cannot be substantiated. He tells us that William was the son of Thomas, born about 1660, who built up a business in the itinerant selling of patent medicines in the Fens. He continues:

> "Tradition goes that it occurred to William Dicey that the men who sold the pills and medicines might be employed to distribute newspapers,....." [23]

Well the story is good and it is not unreasonable to suppose that from his shop in St. Ives, William Dicey sent out chapmen with newspapers, (either his own or London journals) to sell with all the other goods he traded in, but the "Tradition" appears to start and end with Godwin Chance. It is clear that Dicey could not have been in St. Ives on his own account for very long since we know that on April 12, 1719, he was resident in St. Giles, Cripplegate with his wife Mary and family.[24] His eldest son John was then completing his first year as an apprenticed printer.[25] It is possible that William was working with or for his brother-in-law John Cluer - there is certainly no evidence to support the assertion of John Ashton, that Dicey had an office at No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard.[26] Certainly to obtain the sort of expertise that would enable him to advertise engraved music sheets, Dicey must have spent some time in an establishment familiar with the techniques involved and since there were only one or two places in London who specialised in the field and one belonged to his brother-in-law, it seems probable that he would have learnt there. He did not at any time serve an apprenticeship to the printing trade - or if he did it was outside the Company of Stationers, which is unlikely bearing in mind the period when he would have been of age for indenturing.

At some time after October 13, 1719, William Dicey and Robert Raikes formed a partnership and decided to leave St. Ives for the larger and more commercially inviting city of Northampton. On April 10, 1719 they

announced their intention of opening a printing office and publishing a newspaper in Northampton. The first issue of The Northampton Mercury was published on May 2, 1720, from their new premises near All Saints Church. For the next one hundred and sixty-five years, the Dicey family was involved with this newspaper and their name appeared in the imprint.

The first issue of the Northampton Mercury appears to have been distributed to customers free of charge since no price appears on the title page:

VOL. I. NUMB. I.

Northampton Mercury,

OR THE

MONDAY's POST

BEING A

Collection of the most Material Occurrences

Foreign & Domestick.

Together With

An Account of Trade.

[rule]

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1720. (To be continued weekly.)

[rule]

[engraving of 'fame' with motto "MOBILITATE VIGET"]

[rule]

NORTHAMPTON:

Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, near All Saints Church; where Advertisements and Letters of Correspondents are taken in, and all manner of Books printed. 27

The following week the price was prominently added and as was usual with newspapers at this particular period it was three-halfpence. The Act of Parliament of 1711 governing newspapers ordained that a duty was payable on each copy and the rate should be one penny for each full sheet

used and a half-penny for a half-sheet. Since the Northampton Mercury used one and a half sheets for each issue, the tax payable would have been three halfpence, plus an additional paper duty. In fact newspapers started after the Act was passed did not pay the tax, and the more established journals naturally followed suit. There seems to have been no single authority charged with ensuring that all printers obeyed the law and as a consequence newspapers proliferated between 1717 and 1724. From this latter date, fresh legislation stopped the free trade in newspaper production and only the better run and more effectively distributed newspapers survived thereafter.

Of immediate concern to Raikes and Dicey was the establishment of a regular public and initially they made overtures to the people of Northampton in flattering editorials. The very first issue set the tone of these pieces of silken prose.

> "It is surprising to think that this famous, this beautiful, this polite Corporation, has not long ago been the Object of those many Printers who have establish'd Printing Offices in Towns of less note. And certainly it argues their want of Thought: For the Soul of Conversation must be absolutely necessary to a Body of People that excel therein. With this view 'twas that the Proprietors hereof sought that gracious Leave, which the worshipful Mr. Mayor, the Court of Alderman, and Common Council, have unaminously granted to them; and which they will study so to improve, as to make this excellent, this admirable Mystery as useful an Ornament to NORTHAMPTON, as THAT is an Honour to the Art. To this end, besides all the Common Business that may fall in our way as Books, Bonds, Bills, Tickets, Receipts, &c., which will be carefully and exactly printed, the Country will be entertain'd and accomodated every week with a Journal of the most authentic Advices, foreign and domestick, drawn from the best private and publick Intelligences from London; and this continually interspers'd with some delightful and instructive Amusement. Any Gentleman therefore, that will please to communicate his leisure Thoughts to the Printers hereof, by Letter, such Letter shall be inserted. With what Care and Exactness we shall acquit our selves of this Undertaking, has already pramis'd in the St. Ives Mercury of the two preceeding weeks. We shall therefore conclude with assuring all our Readers that they shall be furnish'd with this News early every week, according to the distance of their respective Habitations; and that Advertisements are taken in by the Printers hereof, as also at the Printing-Office in St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire; by Mr. Gibson, Bookseller in Wisbich; and by the Men that carry the News." [28]

However overt and sycophantic this approach was, it [illegible] the desired results for not only did the paper flourish in the "beautiful and polite" town of Northampton, but the [illegible] created freemen - a social necessity for anyone [illegible] a business in Northampton at that time.

The printing office in Northampton was set up by Raikes and Dicey as a business that would yield a profit. It was early appreciated by both partners that a newspaper in itself was not an assurance of profitable income. For one thing the market for a newspaper was not a great one, no matter how efficient one's distributive chain was. Labourers and other working people were then earning around about one shilling per day - an income that stayed remarkably constant for almost one hundred years. Such an income was hardly sufficient to afford the luxury of a weekly newspaper. The most likely customers were the wealthy and so the news contained in the paper was directly aimed to satisfy their needs. Having thus determined the style of content, Raikes and Dicey were faced with two problems; firstly they found that the type of person who would regularly take their newspaper tended to live comfortably and maybe on an estate which might be anything up to forty miles distant from the printing-office. Secondly, the newspaper had only an appeal if the news was fresh. Now the customary way of selling printed ephemera was by way of chapmen who would purchase bulk supplies and then re-sell at a handsome profit. This method of distribution however was quite out of the question since the influential customers of the Mercury wanted a guaranteed,regular, weekly delivery. The answer was simple enough - the chapmen must be employed, and this is precisely what Raikes and Dicey did.

However the chapman could only cover so much ground in a week so that a number of routes had to be laid out in a web-like pattern from Northampton. Each route being approximately forty miles in length.

The next difficulty of course was that along with [illegible] might only have a few dozen customers for the [illegible] of three half-pence each, there was not enough profit [illegible] chapman, let alone the proprietors. [illegible] were employed as newspaper delivery men with two additional [illegible] Firstly, they were also to act as collectors of news and advertisements, and secondly they were to sell the most profitable products of the Northampton press; cha books, broadside ballads and engraved maps and song sheets. The poor might not be able to afford the newspaper but they had certainly the means and motivation to buy a ballad sheet or chapbook. Each chapman employed by Dicey therefore carried a full selection of wares that were available from the printing office and since the largest profit was generally made by the chapman who purchased stock for resale, then by employing such persons, Dicey and his partner were in fact greatly increasing the margin they would have expected if they had traded in the conventional manner.

An examination of the advertisements which appeared in the early issues of the Northampton Mercury, reveal exactly how the distributive return was evolved and the range of products the customers could purchase.

The fifth issue of Monday May 31, 1720 gives a detailed list of the stock then available from the printing offices in Northampton and St. Ives, and also from "the Men that carry the News";

> "All sorts of fine French, Dutch, and English Copper Prints, as Landskips, Battle-Pieces, Drolleries, &c. As likewise all manner of Stationary Ware, viz. Writing Paper, from 6d. to 1s.6d. a Quire; Austin's famous Ink and Ink-Powder, which can never be taken out of Writings, as all other Ink may: but plainly shows the Fraud, if any attempt it: Besides Wax, Wafers &c. The best and newest Plays now acted at both Theatres, and the Songs most in request, with Notes engrav'd on Copper-Plates, both for the Voice and Flute.
> .....as well printed as at any Printing Office in London, and far better than at any in the Country."

Besides the office outlets, the first issue of the Mercury also indicated the Aisbech bookseller, Mr. Peter Gibson as an agent. By June 27, 1720,

John Weale of Bedford had accepted an agency from [illegible] amongst other things he offered "Ballads for [illegible] issue "Likewise stitch'd Histories, Garlands [illegible] for Pedlars and Ballad singers, wholesale and Retail."

On August 22, 1720, appeared the first chapbook [illegible] the Northampton press.

"Next Monday will be publish'd.
The Force of Nature, Or, The Loves of [illegible],
A Romance translated from the French Original, and never
before Printed in English.....
.. Price Three Pence"

Jan. 23, 1721 saw the addition of William Peachey, bookseller of Cambridge, to the growing list of agents. The same issue mentions also that Mr. Francis Clifton, the London printer who had for a while employed Thomas Gent, was again in trouble with the law. This time he appears to have printed a treasonable ballad on the birth of the young Pretender. As a result he was taken into custody by a Mr. Chandler, along with his wife and the rest of his family, and together with his press, paper and all other goods.

Raikes and Dicey added bookbinding to their services in early 1721 and they began to advertise: "all manner of Books are printed, or neatly Bound, Gilt, and Letter'd in Sheep, Calf, Vellum, Turkey or Morocco."[30]

The regular chapmen's routes laid down by Dicey and Raikes in these early years were maintained well into the 1750's at least and probably beyond. The following were amongst those regularly maintained:

1. Northampton to Leicester and Lutterworth.
2. Northampton to Coventry and Birmingham.
3. Northampton to Leamington Spa and Warwick.
4. Northampton to Banbury, Woodstock and Witney.
5. Northampton to Newport, Dunstable, Luton, Aitchin, and other adjacent towns.

6. Northampton to Hinkley, Atherstone, Tam[illegible]

7. Northampton to Peterborough, Stamford, Do[illegible]

8. Northampton to Bedford and Cambridge.

9. To Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich and Ipswich (pos[illegible] starting at Cambridge).

10. Northampton to Stony Stratford, Winslow, Ayle[illegible]

In addition goods were carried by coach to Oxford, [illegible], Worcester, Derby, Sheffield, Hull, York, Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Chester and Liverpool, all on a regular weekly basis.[31]

Of course such extensive networks of chapmen produced administrative worries and occasional notices in the Mercury reveal situations that obviously Dicey and his partner had to accept as everyday, necessary risks. Thus on January 30, 1721 we read:

> "Whereas John Chambers, a Tall, Thin, Black Man about 6 foot high or better, who used to Travel with the Northampton Mercury to Leicester, and Thomas Moss, a short well sett Fellow, very much Freckled in the Face, and Limps with his Right Leg, who also Travell'd the Road with the aforesaid Mercury from Northampton to Whitney, are run away from their Masters Service with a considerable Quantity of Goods. These are to give Notice, that whoever secures either of the fore mention'd fellows, so as they may be brought to Justice shall receive 10 Shillings Reward, and Reasonable Charges to be paid by the Printers hereof, by whom any Person living in Northampton or 5 Miles round maybe constantly employed, provided they are good Footmen and can be well recommended."

Again on July 13, 1730;

> "Instant July, between 10 and 11 of the clock in the Morning, Bartholomew Jones, who travels with the Northampton Mercury thro' Stoney Stratford, Winslow, Aylesbury and Thame was stopp'd, robb'd and bound on Swanbourn Common, in the High Road between Winslow and Stutley, leading to Leighton Buzzard....."

Occasionally Dicey detected a case of fraud and instantly fired the culprit as happened to James Staughton and his brother William, on December 15, 1746. They serviced routes five and six respectively.[32]

In addition to the chapmen, Dicey made agreements with agents around the country. Some of these were printers and booksellers, others kept taverns or coffee houses. The following list has been drawn from

the notices of agency arrangements listed either in the advertisements appearing in the Northampton Mercury prior to 1723 or in the lists often appended to imprints on broadside ballads or chapbooks. It must be said at once that it cannot be taken as a necessarily complete list since very few of the early broadsides issued in Northampton exist today.

Known booksellers:

Mathias Dagnell	Aylesbury
Paul Stevens	Bicester
William Ratten	Coventry
Caleb Ratten	Harborough
Thomas Williams	Tring
William Peachey	Cambridge
Jeremiah Rose	Derby
John Hirst	Leeds
Thomas Gent	York
John White	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Mrs. Margaret Ward	Sun Lane, Reading
Myles Catlin	Godmanchester, Huntingdon, St. Neots, Kimbolton and St. Ives.
John Beale	Bedford
Peter Gibson	Wisbech
. Smith	Cambridge
. Ballinger	Cirencester
J. Wilson	Horse Street, Bristol
T. Bickerton	Paternoster Row, London.
A. Peisley	Oxford
H. Wilson	Boston, Lincolnshire
John Smith	Daventry
Mr. Fowler	Northampton
Stephen Dagnall	Chesham
Nathan Ward	Reading
Thomas Ratten	Market Harborough, Lutterworth and Kettering

Other traders:

Burnham	Northampton. Snuff-[illegible]
Anthony Thorpe	St. Albans
May Timbs	Newport Pagnell
John Timbs	Stony-Stratford
Churrude Brady	St. Ives
Henry Potter	Stony-Stratford
M. Smith	Cornmarket, Bedford
Mr. Standish	Coffee-house, Peterbo[illegible]
Mr. Little	Coffee-house, Peterborough
Jonathan Sisson	Strand, London. Mathematical Instrument Maker
Lot Mael	Spalding. Draper
Mr. Blythe	"Black Swan" Stamford.
Mr. Dexter	"Queen's Head" Thrapston
Mr. James	"The Three Horseshoes" Huntingdon
Mr. Bunning	"The Swan" Uppingham
Mr. Hartwell	"The Angel" Wellingborough
M. Hunt	St. Albans

Together with the chapmens routes, the extensive list of agencies indicates the extent to which the Northampton Printing Office had begun to build up a formidable sphere of influence, both in polite society through its newspaper and the short-lived Northampton Miscellany, and amongst the ordinary country folk through its output of ballads and chapbooks. In April, 1722, this influence was considerably extended when Dicey and Raikes founded a newspaper and printing office in the City of Gloucester.

As early as 1713, there appears to have been a press in the city of Gloucester, operated by a printer named Thomas Cobb. Though he had detected a publication with Cobb's imprint upon it, W.H. Allnutt was hesitant about drawing the conclusion that a Gloucester press existed in 1713.[34] He felt that it was a scurrulous publication and therefore the imprint a fake since he had no further knowledge of a printer named T. Cobb. In fact it is more than likely that the imprint was genuine; that Dicey and Raikes purchased Cobb's business and that Dicey obtained a position for Thomas Cobb with his brother-in-law John Cluer in the Bow-Church Yard

office. We do know that Cobb joined Cluer around 17[illegible]. Cluer died in 1728, Cobb married the widowed sister of [illegible]. Cobb continued to run the Bow-Church-Yard business until 17[illegible] when he assigned it to his brother-in-law.[illegible]

Having founded the Gloucester Journal on April 9, 17[illegible], Dicey proceeded to arrange distribution in exactly the same fashion as they had so successfully done with the Northampton Mercury. In the issue for April 24, 1725, a complete list of the routes is given, together with the names of the responsible chapmen:-

1. John Chapman, distributor to the city of Gloucester.

2. John Wilson, distributor to the city of Bristol.

3. John Butler, chapman. Stroud - Tetbury - Malmsbury - Chippenham - Calne - Devises - Rowde - Bromham - Stanton.

4. John Young, chapman. Marshfield - Bath - Bradford - Trowbridge, plus several villages.

5. Walter Helms, chapman. Frampton - Cambridge - Eastington - Frowester - Dam - Dursley - North Nibley - Wooton-under-Edge - Kingswood - Charfield - Wickwar - Chipping Sodbury - Yeat, plus other towns and villages.

6. John Wood, chapman. Newnham - Lydney + Chepstow - Caerleon - Newport - Cardiff - Llancaff, besides villages.

7. Rice Price, chapman. Little Dean - Coleford - Newland - Redbrook - Monmouth - Rockfield - Abergavenny - Llanwllen - Llanover - Pontypool - Usk - Raglan.

8. James Powell, chapman. Huntley - Mitcheldean - Ross-on-Wye - Llangarren - Hereford - Peobley - Hay-on-Wye.

9. John Winslow, chapman. Newent - Ledbury - Bromyard - Tetbury - Leomister - Ludlow.

10. William Kirby, chapman. Tewkesbury - Upton - Evesham - Pershore - Worcester - Droitwich - Bromsgrove.

11. James Whithorne, chapman - Cheltenham - Prestbury - Charlton Kings - Dowdeswell - Winchcombe - Stanway - Broadway - Chipping Camden - Wickleton - Stratford-upon-Avon - Alderminster.

12. James Warwick, chapman. Birdlip - Withington - North Leach - Sherbourne - Burford - Brampton - Clayfield - Farringdon - Stanford - Wantage - Lambourne - Cricklade.

13. James Peloteris, chapman. Painswich - Bisley - Cirencester - Fairford - Lechlade - Highworth - Swindon - Marlborough - Wooton Bassett.

On May 24, 1720,[37] Dicey had boasted that his paper was [illegible] and regularly distributed in the counties of Bedford, Berkshire, Buckingham, Cambridge, Derby, Essex, Hertford, Huntingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Oxford, Rutland, Stafford, Suffolk and Warwick. With the new Gloucester Journal he was able to add Somerset, Wiltshire, Worcestershire, Worcester, Shropshire, Hereford, Monmouth and possibly Glamorgan, Brecknock and Radnor - a considerable achievement in such a short space of time.

In June of 1725, John Cluer Dicey completed his apprenticeship with John Darby and left London to manage the bookshop in St. Ives that had been his father's first enterprise. Whether or not his son's emergence as a fully fledged printer was instrumental in the break is not clear, but in September 1725, the two major businesses in Northampton and Gloucester were split between the partners and henceforth all publications from the Gloucester press bore Robert Raikes' name alone and at Northampton, William Dicey became sole proprietor. There seems to have been no acrimony about the rearrangement of interests since the two co-partners remained on good terms and continued to sell each others wares. If we are to judge from the extant products of the two presses at this time, it is likely that Raikes printed only small books and plays at Gloucester whilst at Northampton, Dicey increased his output of broadside ballads and popular chapbooks.

At the Bow-Churchyard press in London, John Cluer was active at this time but it is difficult to assess whether or not he produced many broadsides or chapbooks since he appears never to have included his name on an imprint of these ephemeral wares. Since he advertised these products for sale, it can be assumed that the earliest of the Bow Churchyard imprints were his. In the year of his death we find that the last work for his press bearing his name was issued in February, 1728, being; The Addresses of the several Counties, Cities, Towns, &c. to King George II

on his Accession to the Throne. With a Life of the [illegible]. Sold by J. Cluer in Bow Church-Yard. Price 3s.[38]

Following her husband's death later that same year, [illegible] issued a trade advertisement in which she announced her intention of carrying on the business with the same services to the [illegible].[39] For three years, she and her foreman, Thomas Cobb, kept the business operating as actively as ever and no doubt with the aid of her brother William Cluer. During this period, the productions of the press were all [illegible] imprinted "..at the Printing Office in Bow Church-Yard."[40] In 1731, Elizabeth Cluer married Thomas Cobb and for the next five years Cobb managed the press in Bow -Churchyard, putting much of his energy into the publication of large engraved volumes like those of George Bickham, the calligrapher. In addition he re-issued many of the old county maps of Great Britain from the original plates of John Speed. By October 1736, negotiations were completed between Cobb and William Dicey.[41] Dicey purchased the business and placed his son John, henceforth styled 'Cluer Dicey' in the Printing Office as manager. The new company was advertised as "William and Cluer Dicey, at the Printing Office and Picture Warehouse, the lower end of Bow Church Yard" in 1738 and an alternative advertisement on an engraved trade card gives another address, "At the Maiden-Head in Bow-Church-Yard."[42] This latter card also displays a printing-house scene suggesting that both rolling and hand presses were in operation. From these two advertisements we are led to understand that both a printing office and a stock warehouse were situated in Bow-Church-Yard at this time - this is important in understanding the difficulties that are presented in attempting to date the various imprints that exist on both broadsides and chapbooks during the period 1720 - 1795.

In 1882, John Ashton's Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century was published and in his introduction, Ashton states:

"The principal factory for them, and from which [illegible] nine-tenths of them emanated, was No. 4, Aldermary [illegible] yard, afterwards removed to Bow Churchyard, since by [illegible]

Proceeding from this unsubstantiated statement, Victor [illegible] us with a list of Dicey imprints - "all those so far [illegible]" and states that "It is not possible to deduce any priorities of issue from them beyond saying that the Aldermary ones are earlier than the others."[44] In fact the true situation is exactly the opposite as [illegible] would have realized since he included in his volume a dated "Aldermary churchyard" chapbook of 1780[45] - many years after William Dicey's death.

Proceeding from an evaluation of the sparse biographical and historical data we have of the Dicey family it is possible to suggest a likely chronology to many of the imprints and such a sequence, dated however roughly, would obviate the pitfalls into which the unwary will stumble if they follow the sometimes wild, approximations appended to chapbook entries in the catalogues of the British Museum. Paradoxically we are able to determine the dates of earlier issues with far more assurance than the later ones. Thus the activities of 1718-25 can be dated with some precision, as can the printed ephemera originating from Northampton or Gloucester:

St. Ives, Huntingdonshire: Printed by Robert Raikes.	1718.
St. Ives in Huntingdonshire: Printed by William Dicey.	1719.
St. Ives in Huntingdonshire: Printed by William Dicey and Robert Raikes.	1719-20.
Northampton: Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey.	May 5, 1720 to May 17, 1725.
Northampton: Printed by William Dicey and Robert Raikes	May 25, 1725 to September 13, 1725.
Northampton: Printed by William Dicey	September 30, 1725 to March 29, 1757.
Northampton: Printed by Clunt Dicey	April 4, 1757 to 1775.

Gloucester: Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey. — [illegible]

Gloucester: Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, in South-gate Street. — [illegible]

Gloucester: Printed by R. Raikes in the South-gate Street. — [illegible]

Gloucester: Printed by R. Raikes, in the Black-Fryars. — [illegible]

Those imprints which concern the various premises in London are given the name or names of the printers are less easily dated, though the following are deducible with the hope of some accuracy:

Printed (or engraved) by John Cluer in Bow Church Yard, London — ? to 1728

Printed (or engraved) by Thomas Cobb in Bow Church Yard, London. — 1731 to 1736.

William Dicey and Company, in Bow Churchyard. — 1736 to 1756

William and Cluer Dicey, in Bow Churchyard. — 1736 to 1756

London: C. Dicey, In Bow Church Yard; Sold also at his ware-house in Northampton. — 1757 to 1763

Cluer Dicey & Co., in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane. — 1762 - 1764

Dicey and Co., in Aldermary Churchyard. — ditto

Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall, At the Printing Office, in Aldermary Churchyard, LONDON. — 1764 to 1775

Richard Marshall, in Aldermary Church-Yard. — 1775 - 1779

John Marshall in Aldermary Churchyard. — 1779 - 1785

John Marshall at No. 17 Queen Street, Cheapside and No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard. — 1785 - ca. 1795

The problematical imprints that we are left with (and it must be said that these are the imprints which occur most frequently upon broadside-ballads) present greater difficulties. They may be grouped thus:

1. Bow Churchyard group:

   a. London, Bow Church-Yard.
   b. Printed in Bow Church-Yard.
   c. Bow Churchyard.
   d. Printed and Sold at the Printing Office in Bow Church Yard, London.
   e. Sold at the Printing Office in Bow Church-Yard, London.
   f. Printed and Sold in Bow Church Yard.

2. Aldermary Churchyard group:

   a. Printed and sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane, London.
   b. Printed at the Printing Office in Aldermary Church-Yard, London.
   c. Aldermary Church-yard.
   d. No. 4, Aldermary Church-Yard.
   e. Printed and Sold at No. 4 Aldermary Church-Yard.

Dealing initially with Bow Churchyard, we know that for a period between 1728 and 1731, the printing office here was in the care of Elizabeth Cluer and that books issued during this period bore the imprint, "at the printing office in Bow Church-Yard." We do not know for certain that she issued broadside-ballads. It has often been conjectured that the Northampton press of William Dicey printed chapbooks and broadsides for sale in London which might account for the imprint – "Sold at the Printing Office in Bow Churchyard, London." – without any indication that they were necessarily printed there. As a partial support to this theory, one notices that in comparing the lay-out of sheets issued in Northampton with a few of the Bow Churchyard sheets, a common ornamental device has been employed to divide the columns of text. This device, built up from a sequence of heraldic blocks is most often noticed upon those sheets "sold at the printing office..." It should be noted however that these particular ornaments were fairly commonly used by eighteenth century printers and stocks could have been held at both printing houses. In the case of imprint 1a. – London: Bow Church Yard. – it can be said that this style is most common on the earliest eighteenth century sheets

and chapbooks. Otherwise all that can be said is that [illegible] yard group belong to that period of activity before 1763 [illegible] Dicey transferred to his new premises in Aldermary [illegible] probably issued after 1736 when William took over at 'The [illegible]' in Bow Churchyard.

Of the Aldermary Churchyard imprints, we can separate [illegible] from No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard. From 1763 and until Rich[illegible]'s death in 1779, almost all broadsides issued before Cluer Dic[illegible]'s [illegible] in 1775 merely stated, "Printed and sold in Aldermary churchyard." Following C. Dicey's death, Richard Marshall added his name to the imprint. When his son John took over the business in 1779, he added "No. 4" to the address and in 1785, when he acquired another shop at 17 Queen Street, Cheapside, this was added to the imprint. We thus have the sequence:

Aldermary Churchyard	ca. 1763 to 1775
Richard Marshall at Aldermary Churchyard	1775 to 1779
No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard	1779 to 1785
No. 17 Queen Street, Cheapside and No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard	1785 to ca. 1795

A unique sheet in the Harvard Library collection of broadsides suggests the possibility that the Aldermary churchyard premises might have been acquired as early as 1757, for this broadside (ref. 100 (iii) 7) bears the imprint, "W & C Dicey in St. Mary, Aldermary Church Yard and at the Printing office in Bow Church Yard." Nothing else has been detected with this imprint. Extant collections bear out the above separation of imprints in that the greatest quantity surviving belong to the period 1763 - 1775 and the rarest are those printed between 1775 and 1779 - the shortest period. Of course these dates refer to imprinted sheets and do not cover the considerable stocks of ballads that were held, without imprints. These latter formed the basis of John Pitts early business activity and were much used by other printers and dealers around the country

who merely overprinted their addresses.

The earliest extant broadside ballads known to h[illegible] William Dicey and Robert Raikes are Roger's Delight, a [illegible] written by Tom D'Urfey[46] and an old traditional fol[illegible] fitted; or, A pretty jest that once befel How a [illegible] in the well.[47] Both were issued between 1720 and 1725. [illegible] the dissolution of their partnership that William Dicey [illegible] involved with ballads and initially he sought his material [illegible] of the first gathering of broadside ballads published as a collection.

As early as January, 1823, in The Gentlemen's Magazine under the pseudonym Eu. Hood, Joseph Haslewood pointed out that William Dicey had adapted for his broadsides, ballads which had been published in the three volumes, A Collection of Old Ballads, 1723-25. That Dicey had done so was clear from the fact that he also published the historical notes and made crude woodcut copies of the engravings appearing in that collection. Apparently Albert Friedman also noticed this piece of plagiarism as Leslie Shepard points out in his monograph on John Pitts.[48] A Collection of Old Ballads contains one hundred and fifty-nine pieces in all and of these, William Dicey re-issued at least seventy. Of the seventy that can be detected in extant copies or through Dicey's 1754 catalgoue (Appendix C), twenty-seven are versions of ballads that have occurred with some frequency in oral tradition. 'H' followed by a number indicates a ballad in the Harvard collection and 'M', a ballad in the Madden collection at Cambridge:

The baffled knight	H.1876
The battle of Agincourt	M1-27
The beggar wench of Hull	M2-540
The blind beggar of Bednal-Green	H.702
Bonny Dundee	H.1888 (?)
Chery Chase	H.740
The Children in the wood	H.644
The gaberlunzie man	M2-328
Gilderoy	M3-700

Johnny Armstrong's Last Goodnight	unlocated
King Alfred and the shepherd	unlocated
King Henry and the miller of Mansfield	M2-468
King John and the abbot of Canterbury	M2-474
The lady turned serving-man	M2-302
The London 'prentice	H.950
Lord Thomas and fair Ellinor	M2-514
Queen Eleanor's confession	M3-660
Robin Hood and Allen a-Dale	Unlocated
Robin Hood and Little John	H.1064
Robin Hood and the bishop	H.1059
Rescue of Will Stutley	H.1068
Robin Hood's Wedding	unlocated
Sir Andrew Barton's death	M3-710
The Suffolk Miracle	M3-731
The Crafty lover	H.1920
The Greenland voyage	unlocated
William and Margaret (by David Mallett)	unlocated

Excepting the last three items of this list, all have origins as broadside ballads of the seventeenth century and they are, without exception, to be found amongst the Ballad Partners' stock. Though we cannot be certain that Dicey obtained his copy in every case from A Collection of Old Ballads, we do know that he used many since he copied the prose introductions which were added to that collection by a person or persons unknown.

Mallet's William and Margaret brings to issue the thorny question of the anonymous editorship of A Collection of Old Ballads. It is universally accepted by bibliographers and ballad scholars that Ambrose Philips was the responsible party. The supporting evidence for this assumption is very thin indeed, amounting to no more than "fourth-hand hearsay...Douce said that Ritson said that Farmer said somebody said that Philips was editor..."[49] as Miss de la Torre Bueno has trenchantly observed. The same was noted by M. Segar who explained that Douce's

copy of the collection has a note to the effect that [illegible] of the same collection states, "Dr. Farmer [illegible] in his copy of the Old Ballads: This Collection has been ascribed to [illegible]." It will be observed that not one of the [illegible] named, felt sure enough to whole-heartedly endorse the ascription. As a counter-blast against present-day acceptance of Philips' authorship, Torre Bueno has made many critical points and so effectively that one has little doubt but that she is correct.

Th ough a friend of Addison, Philips was often critical of his opinions; not so the editor of A Collection of Old Ballads, whose obeisant attitude to Addison is frequently declared. Sycophancy as exemplified in fulsome dedications is a notable feature of literary publications at the start of the eighteenth century. Ambrose, "namby pamby" Philips was infamous in this practice, seldom missing an opportunity of employing the most embarrassingly fulsome dedication to any new work he had in hand. The "Old Ballads" was issued in three volumes at progressive intervals of several months, yet no dedication appears in any of the volumes. Philips was frigidly decent, and an opponent of any sign of loose morality in literature. It is scarcely possible that such a man would have reprinted The Swimming Lady, with its notorious engraving which is often found absent or mutilated in surviving copies of the second volume of "Old Ballads."[51] Equally such a sensibility as Philips would not have countenanced the reprinting of The Wanton Wife of Bath,[52] King Edward and Jane Shore or The Wanton Virgin's Frightened.[54]

In his literary opinions, Philips was most severe with Cowley; "of all our countrymen, none are more defective in songs, thro' a Redundancy of Wit, than Dr. Donne and Mr. Cowley."[55] Volume one of "Old Ballads" is illustrated with a frontispiece portraying Cowley alongside Suckling, Homer, Pindar, Anacreon and Horace. Furthermore, amongst the songs

reprinted in the second volume is Cowley's Chronicle, with an introduction praising the author and regretting that [illegible] could not be included for fear, "of being thought an Invader of other Men's properties."[56] Based on these and other similar literary and historical discrepancies, it is certain that whoever edited A Collection of Old Ballads it was not Ambrose Philips.

Equally uncertain of Philips' editorship, Sigurd Hustvedt points out one interesting inference that eluded Miss de la Torre Bueno.[57] Philips is known to have spent some time in Denmark between April, 1709 and June, 1711. In 1695, Peder Syv had published his Et Hundrede Udvalde Danske Viser...Forøgede met det andet Hundrede. Approximately one hundred years earlier had appeared A.S. Vedel's It Hundrede Udvalde Danske Viser. Both collections of Danish balladry were ordered into sections; heroic or legendary ballads, historical ballads and romantic ballads. "Old Ballads" generally follows this arrangement and whilst it may be argued that such a coincidence is in itself insufficient proof of a shared editorial methodology, the further similarity in comparisons of style is persuasive. Hustvedt says:

> "So far as the editor's jocoseness permits a determination of his views, they are, on broad lines, the same as those of the Danes. As regards the antiquity of the ballads in general he says: "I would not be thought to ridicule anything in Sacred Writ, and will therefore pass over in Silence, what I might say of the Times of Moses, Jephthah and David, and go directly amongst the Pagans." Homer, he says, "was nothing more than a blind Ballad-singer." Among other "ballad-writers" he mentions Pindar, Horace, and Anacreon. This parallelism with Hebrew and classical antiquity,.... was a marked feature of late Vedel's and Syv's criticism. Addison's comparisons were of another kind altogether than those of the Danes or of this editor." 58

Another who seeks to dissociate Philips from A Collection of Old Ballads is Joseph Haslewood, a man who had considerable knowledge and expertise on matters concerning popular literature. He goes further than any other critic in that he proposes an alternative editor;

"Of the Old Ballads, it is equally possible [illegible] edited by David Mallett, who at that period [illegible] known in the literary circles, and whose [illegible] production, William and Margaret... is given as an old ballad." 59

Haslewood based his opinion upon the fact that Lady Wardlaw's literary re-working of the Old ballad, Fair Margaret's Misfortune, had been presented to the public in 1723 in the periodical sheet The Plain Dealer. He considers it inconceivable that Ambrose Philips would have been inconsiderate of literary courtesy in not appending his illustrious name to the ballad when reprinted in the third volume of A Collection of Old Ballads whereas Mallett of course would have had no such problem. It is noteworthy that Allan Ramsey in his Tea Table Miscellany, printed in 1724/6, gives William and Margaret as "an old ballad" but with the initials D. . at the end to signify authorship. It is doubtful if we will ever positively identify the mysterious editor of A Collection of Old Ballads and with the general acceptance of Philips' editorship made "authoritive" in Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, it is unlikely that Miss de la Torre Bueno's well argued disputation will ever find support, if only because she offers no alternative to Philips.

Lacey's use of the historical ballads in A Collection of Old Ballads extended to adding the critical and historical notes in that publication. In addition he frequently added a further note of his own which suggests the type of market he was attempting to reach. In his reissue of A Princely Song of King Richard, Surnamed Cordelion, and of his Bold Courage, and Lamentable Death., he includes the prose introduction and adds:

"Note, As the Use of these Old Songs is very great, in respect that many Children never would have learn'd to Read, had they not took a delight in poring over Jane Shore or Robin Hood, &c. which has insensible stole into them a curiosity and desire of Reading other the like Stories, till they have improved themselves more in a short time than perhaps they would have done in some Years at School: In order still to make them more useful, I promise to affix an Introduction, in which I shall point out what is Fact and what is Fiction

in each Song; which will (as may be reasonably supposed) give not only Children, but Persons of more ripe years an insight into the Reality, Intent, and Design, as well as many times the Author and Time when such Song was made, which has not hitherto been explain'd.

During the years following his acquisition of the [illegible] press and warehouse, Dicey's available stock of ballads [illegible]. His early years of trading [illegible] establishing a ballad stock in duplication of the one that had been so effective in the seventeenth century. He had taken their titles and found them still popular, he had copied their woodblocks though in style his are more polished, and he had used the same means of distribution though with considerable improvements in marketing effectiveness. The one major difference was that he never at any time employed the old black-letter fonts of type that remained so popular yet so archaic, at the end of the seventeenth century.[61] Another change he made in the early part of his career as ballad printer, was to issue very many more slip-songs. He quickly realized that a slip-song at the cost of one farthing was more likely to find a wide market than the larger oblong folio sheets at a penny. In addition, the smaller type fonts allowed him the facility of putting twelve or more verses on a single slip. Furthermore he could squeeze five columns of type onto one half-sheet so that instead of one oblong folio ballad one could set up five slip-songs on the same piece of paper. The costs remained the same but the half-sheet realized a penny and a farthing instead of a penny. A twenty-five per cent increase in turnover at no extra cost was not a trading advantage to be ignored. The effect of this change meant that the repertoir was subject to an alteration which had little to do with public taste. A long sixteen stanza ballad could be and was reduced to a six verse slip-song. In addition the songs now so popular in the ballad-operas could be readily issued as slips whereas their shortness had previously limited their use

to the songster or chapbook. In 1754 William and [illegible] issued their great catalogue of publications. [illegible] copy is imperfect but there is a bonus in that [illegible] owned by Bishop Thomas Percy and his interleaved [illegible] the extent to which he employed the ballad [illegible] aid him in his publication of The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. The catalogue includes maps, prints, [illegible], [illegible] from copper-plates and all at a price of four shillings per quire. Then follows a catalogue of chapbooks extending to one hundred and sixty-four titles, the majority being familiar from the seventeenth century Ballad-Partners stock or from the Norris-Brown entry into the Registers of the Stationers' Company.[63] Pages forty-five to fifty-six list the ballads available as oblong folio half-sheets. Three hundred and sixty-one are printed and the interleaved additions by Percy bring the total to four hundred and twenty, though a few may be duplicates. This list is reproduced in Appendix C. Following the ballad-sheet list is a note to the effect that two thousand or more slip-songs were also available but there being so many it was impossible to list them. Three years after this catalogue was issued, William Dicey died and his eldest son Cluer took charge of the business though he remained in London, leaving the Northampton Mercury in the hands of his son Thomas. Another son, Robert had opened a bookshop in Northampton where he sold ballads.

Extant collections of broadside ballads printed during the eighteenth century show very clearly the penetration of Dicey's monopoly of the trade. Yet it was not an absolute monopoly for many provincial towns and cities had set up presses and a number issued broadside ballads. The scale of their operations was not as great nor as far-reaching as Dicey's yet the evidence, sparse as it sometimes is, shows that their range of available songs was large. Clearly many printers employed Dicey's stock as a basis for their own range of stock ballads and none more so than John White of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

At the age of twenty (1709) the young White [illegible] from his father's business in York to set up the first [illegible] Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[64] He started printing from [illegible] the Jewel-groop in the Close"[65] but by 1712 he had [illegible] to "his House on the Side."[66] His newspaper, The [illegible] was a great success and in addition he had quickly [illegible] in all types of printing work including chapbooks and [illegible]. At first it seems likely that he sold those printed by Dicey in Northampton since his name figures prominently in many Dicey imprints as an agent. No doubt as his own business prospered and as his own stock of Dicey sheets accumulated, he saw the opportunity of entering the trade in his own right. White is also to be noted as the printer of the first book of English folklore. In 1725 he published Antiquitates Vulgares ; or, the Antiquities of the Common People., by Henry Bourne. This work was later enlarged by John Brand and re-issued as Observations on Popular Antiquities, published in Newcastle-upon-Tyne by White's former partner and successor, Thomas Saint in 1777.

By October 6, 1720, the Newcastle Courant was being circulated all over the northern counties of England and the following agents had been appointed: Mr. Russel in Sunderland, Mrs. Freeman in Durham, Mrs. Isabel Carr in Bishop-Auckland, Mr. Michael Pudsey in Bernard-Castle, Mr. John Thompson in Kirby-Steven, Mr. Birkhead in Kendal, Mr. Bradley in Appleby, Mr. Bramwell in Penrith, Mr. Cook in Carlisle and Mr. Bunian in Alnwick. It is difficult to date his move into new premises in Pilgrim Street but certainly by September 30, 1732, he is advertising in his imprint "by John White, next Door to the Quakers' Meating-House in Pilgrim Street." When a full imprint appears on a ballad-sheet issued by White it is always from the Pilgrim Street press, suggesting that he turned to cheap popular literature later than many have imagined.

It has already been noted that White [illegible] to the appearance of Thomas Gent in the printing [illegible] period between the death of her husband and [illegible] Gent, we are told (by Gent) that White offered [illegible] £50 for the York business. She refused and, [illegible]

> "He had done all he could to prevent [illegible], and breathed forth little else than the most destructive opposition against us; giving, as it were, a [illegible] to his malice, that what he intended was [illegible] good of his family.... and told me plainly, that he would oppose me in all my doings to the very utmost of his power." 67

During 1724, White was appointed Sheriff of York and the following year, whilst Gent was in Ireland visiting sick parents, he founded with Robert Ward, a new newspaper in York - The York Courant.[68] Of course Gent, when informed in a letter by his wife, was incensed and immediately returned to York, arriving on November 3, 1725, the day of Jonathan Wild's execution. The rivalry which ensued was fierce and completely without the niceties of fair trading competition. White is purported to have visited agents, removing Gent's papers to replace them with his own. Furthermore White cut the price of his publications by one-third hoping, as Gent says, "their riches in Newcastle would support them through all expenses, whilst they endeavoured to ruin me at York." In addition he was accused of bribing one of Gent's employees to put an unstamped newspaper into a customer's house in place of a stamped one. For this Gent was fined fifty pounds, however the fraud was detected and the story emerged that one of Gent's journeymen, "Scotch" MacPherson, printed the unstamped paper, passed it to White's journeyman, Stephen Cho in turn passed it to White. The latter visited the alehouse of Mr. Reynoldson and exchanged the papers, later reporting the crime. Macpherson ran away to join the "fiddlers and pipers" before Gent could get back from

a visit to Hull.[69]

White's York Courant was managed in his absence from [illegible] Mrs. Sarah Coke, and like the Newcastle business [illegible] of agencies had been set up;

"sold by Mr. Ryles at Hull, Mr. Godson at [illegible] Mr. Kennel at Malton, Mr. Bland at Scarborough, [illegible] at Halifax, Mr. Robinson Postmaster at Whitby, [illegible] Snaith, Zacheus Canby at Selby, Mr. Watson at [illegible] Mr. Rose at Knaresborough." 70

Whether or not White was acting out of purely malicious feelings towards Gent is not clear since we have only the rather jaundiced statements of Gent to offer up as evidence. Yet the impact of competition did force Gent into risking his finances in the speculative publication of large volumes of topographical notes concerning the city of York and also the town and abbey at Ripon. These ventures were not a great success and from the late 1730's Gent's business was in decline, forcing him more and more into depending upon the sale of chapbooks to eke out a living.

With the publication of the four hundred and seventieth issue of The York Courant, White withdrew from the newspaper;

"Whereas the Property of my Printing Press at York is now sold to John Gilfillan.....This is to desire all Persons indebted to me.....to pay their money to Mr. Edward Seller, in Jubbergate, York, or to Mrs. Sarah Coke, at the Printing Press in Stonegate, at or before Michaelmas next." 71

The Newcastle business continued to prosper and by 1739 as elaborate a network of chapmen, agents and newscarriers had been set up as that instituted by Jacey and Oakes, with the difference that there is no evidence of White employing his chapmen - they appear to have functioned as independent operators.

The following routes were established:

Mr. Pattinson, a postmaster. Carlisle, Brampton, Wigton Annan, Dumfries.

Mr. Birkett, a postmaster. Whitehaven and Workington.

Mr. Richardson, a postmaster. Penrith, Keswick and Keswick.

Robert Wharton. [illegible]
Hawshead, Ulverstone, Cartmell, [illegible]

Isaac Rawlinson. [illegible]
Preston.

Newscarriers. [illegible]
Staindrop, Barnardcastle, [illegible]
Thirsk, North Allerton, Stokley, [illegible]
Stockton, Norton, Sedgefield.

Mr. Holmes, postmaster. [illegible]

Newscarriers. [illegible]

Mr. Grieve [illegible]

Robert Winterop Jedburgh to Hawick

and the following agencies:

Mr. Snorey and Mr. Bunting at Hexham, Mr. Fisher at Cockermouth, Mr. Parkin at Appleby, Richard Bayliff at Kirby-Lonsdale, John Inman at Sedburgh, Mr. Dalton at Kirby Steven, Mr. Lamb at Brough, Andrew Spottiswood at Durham, Luke Caire at Morpeth, John Thompson at Felton, George Shepherd at Alnwick, Mr. Embleton to Warkworth, Joseph Blair to Belford, George Handside at Wooler, George Hunter at Duns and Mr. Maban at Kelsoe.[72]

Thomas Saint was taken into partnership with White in 1761 and following White's death in 1769 the business was carried on by him for nineteen years. Saint's most notable achievement was in recognising the artistic talent of a young wood engraver working at that time for Ralph Beilby.[73] Thomas Bewick cut many of his earliest blocks for use in Saint's publications. Following Saint's death in 1788, the business passed to John Hall, who then entered into partnership with Joseph Elliott. They continued to operate on the same basis as that laid down by White until 1795, when Hall died in June and Elliot at about the same time.[74]

There was no clear continuation of the old White business but Newcastle had by then become a great centre for the publication of chap-books, songsters and ballad-sheets and slips, perhaps second only to

London. The Trinity Corner press of Thomas Angus [illegible] 1774 and following Thomas' death on February 15, 178[illegible], his widow Margaret carried on from premises in Drury Lane. In 178[illegible] the business was situated at "The Side", and Thomas Jr., was in the partnership around the turn of the century. From 1812 the business was continued by Thomas's son George until he finally bankrupted the shop in July, 1825. For a brief period in 1761, a printer named William Marchbank printed ballads in Newcastle and a handful survive in the collections at Harvard and amongst the Roxburgh Ballads in the British Museum.

During the period of animosity with White, Thomas Gent opened a shortlived enterprise in Scarborough where he printed theatre bills, chapbooks and trade-cards.[75] In York his affairs steadily worsened until 1743 when he moved into Petergate. By this time his publications were being issued on only the cheapest paper and the extent to which his fortune had sunk is shown by a trade advertisement of that year:

> I humbly hope, thro' Divine Assistance, that the favourable Munificence of my Friends, considering the Contingencies in Life, will generously extend to the Place of my new Settlement, repair'd to withstand the Inclemency of the Weather, freed from all filthy Incumbrances, and by credible Apartments fit to entertain the better sort of well-bred Lodgers, or Customers that rightly encourage true typographical Artists. [76]

From master printer to lodging house keeper was a considerable reversal of fortunes and from the stress laid upon his Line-free bedrooms, one suspects he was financially dependent upon the least attractive of his two occupations. Most of his extant chapbooks were composed and published between 1745 and 1760. They are noteworthy only for their use of wretched paper, poor type and execrable woodcuts. In addition to the doggerel he himself composed - usually upon a religious theme - he issued a few of the better known 'classics' of the chap-trade like Guy of Warwick

and the Robin Hoods' Garland which had superseded the [illegible] of Robin Hood ballads upon broadsides. In 1761, Gent [illegible] from the elegy he then wrote, it is clear that he had [illegible] an only son, Charles. His last production was a chapbook [illegible] Thomas Kitcheson at the New Printing Office, in Fosgate, 1772. [illegible] by then given up printing and through the kindly offices of [illegible] Mr. Drake, had been elected a pensioner of Allen's Charity to [illegible] him from becoming completely destitute.[77] At the age of 87, he died in his house in Petergate on May 19, 1778. The printing trade in York, in so far as chapbooks and ballad sheets are concerned, appears to have lapsed until it was revived around 1800 by James Kondrew in Colliergate and Thomas Wilson and R. Spence.

Another important centre for the publication of ephemeral literature in the eighteenth century was the quiet country town of Banbury. In 1767, John Cheney, the innkeeper of the "Unicorn" set up a printing press. After producing nothing but bill-heads for four years he became involved with legal difficulties because he had not served an apprenticeship. The Statute of Artificers(5 Eliz.cap.4) was invoked and he stopped printing. Two months later he employed a journeyman printer, "apprenticed" himself and continued as before.[78] Owing to good fortune or careful management, we are able to scrutinise a side of the ballad trade not usually studied, for the account books still exist covering the entire history of the Cheney printing business. In particular those ledgers covering the period 1799-73 are of interest since the press was then heavily used for ballad-sheet production. There is no firm indication that the names entered into the ledgers are buying or selling ballads but since some of them are known by extant sheets we can assume that the entries do in fact detail sales. Again it is not necessarily true that the ballads being sold were printed by Cheney since we know that like

most printer/stationers, Cheney sold the [illegible]

A few entries at random illustrate the size and [illegible]

Sept. 22. 1769	
Thomas, Eggleton of Aylesbury	
3 Rim of ballads	[illegible]
Mr. Eden at Winslow	
2 Rim of Ballads	[illegible]
May 2 Rim d°	[illegible]
June 19, 1 Rim D°	[illegible]
Aug. 27 1771 Mr. Clay Warwick	
8 Rem of Books	[illegible]
Mr. John Bailye at 5 shillings and sixpence a Rim Hoy Lane Coventry	[illegible]
Dec. 8 a Rim Qa	0 16 10½
1770	
Feb. 2, 2 Rim	11 4
April 13 a Rim of Ballads	5 6
May 18, 2 Rim	0 11 0
August 31, 1 Rim	0 5 6
Sept. 21, 3 Rim	0 16 6
1771	
Feb. 1. 2 ream	0 11 0
May 2. 3 ream	0 16 6
1772	
Oct. 23. 2 Reams at 6/-	0 12 0

79

Apart from the obvious fact that ballads at five shillings and sixpence a ream wholesale represents a handsome opportunity to the retailer - in fact he would net approximately one pound fourteen shilling and sixpence per ream - the other clear evidence here is the indication of the quantity a retailer could expect to sell. In the case of the Coventry bookseller John Bailye his stock purchases indicate that he was selling, between December 1769 and September 1771, an average of 313 sheets per month. Over the period of approximately two years his cash outlay of four pounds fourteen shillings and twopence-halfpenny would yield a net profit of twenty-five pounds fifteen shillings and ninepence-halfpenny. Though not a great deal of money it does show us what a lucrative business it was and indicates a ready market.

Inside the front cover of the same [illegible] book that [illegible] the above figures is a pasted down copy of an advertisement: [illegible] Number 18, George's-Court, near St. John's-Gate, [illegible] All Sorts of Wood Cuts used in Printing, Stamping, &c....' [illegible] a question that occurred to C.R. Cheney in his article on [illegible] Chap-Books and Broadsides.' He finds that several [illegible] have used the same blocks indicating a common source of [illegible]. The three instances he identifies raise separate problems for the [illegible] illustrating Death and the Lady appears on a sheet of [illegible] prevenance, issued by the Bow Church-yard press of William Dicey and also on a later sheet issued by J. Turner of Coventry. It is not inconceivable that the actual block could have passed through all three hands. There is certainly no knowledge of a stereotyping process in the eighteenth century that would enable identical blocks to be sold to more than one customer. Frequently one encounters blocks that copy in great detail, a familiar picture but side by side the difference is usually very clear. An instance of identical block usage is the three sheets contained in the Madden Collection of Ballads., Volume I - Garlands., Nos. 46, 47 and 48. These are three issues of The Berkshire Tragedy, or the Wittam Miller, a well known ballad amongst folk singers in the twentieth century. Number 47 printed by William Dicey at Northampton, probably before 1738, number 48 is without imprint but was probably issued by the Aldermary Churchyard press in the 1790's and number 49 was issued by John Cheney, High Street, Banbury sometime after 1800. It is possible that the woodblock changed hands but more likely is that Cheney purchased an already printed sheet without imprint and then added his own. At the end of the eighteenth century, many sheets without imprint but emanating from the Aldermary Churchyard press of John Marshall were sold off when he appears to have disposed of his warehouse stock prior to concentrating his attentions. upon the Cheap Repositary Tracts.

John Cheney died in 1806 and the business was [illegible] his son Thomas until his death in 1820. With Thomas's [illegible] appears to have ceased issuing broadsides and chapbooks - [illegible] of this latter trade being taken on by the firm of [illegible].

Following John Cheney's death, an inventory of [illegible] broadsides, slips and carols was made which gives a [illegible] what a country printing house might hold at any time to satisfy the ballad-hawking trade.[30] Amongst those sheets listed are the following folksongs;

Yarmouth Tragedy	[illegible]
Lord Thos. Fair Eleanor	[illegible]
William and Margaret	[illegible]
The Wittham Miller	10
Death and the Lady	[illegible]
The Children in the Wood	19

In all, seventeen reams and eleven quires of sheets are itemised by title and in addition it is noted that the stocks included thirty-three reams and fifteen quires of slips (excluding oddments, by which presumably is meant those titles which were held in less than two dozen copies) and eight reams and nine quires of carols. A total holding of almost twenty-nine thousand song sheets well illustrates the extent of the trade at this period.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, a great deal of interest was aroused amongst bibliophiles by the chapbooks of earlier times. One collector of some pre-eminence, Joseph Haslewood, put together two volumes which were emblazoned with the following whimsical titles:

1. Tramper's Twattle, or Treasure and Tinsel from the Tewkesbury Tank.
2. Quaffing Quavers to Quip Quaristers and Quiet Quodlivetarians. [31]

The "Tewkesbury Tank" mentioned amongst this alliterative nonsense was Samuel Harward, who between the years 1760 and 1775 issued many

ballads for his printing shop in Tewkesbury. [illegible] his business to Cheltenham though from one imprint [illegible] to have maintained shops at both Gloucester and [illegible]. [illegible] appears not to have issued broadsides but instead fo[illegible] course of issuing ballads in folded single sheet [illegible] pages. A complete list of his publications was printed in the [illegible] Family Registers, vol.ii., pp.191-192 and in [illegible] Notes and Queries, vol.iii., pp.226-228. This list is given in Appendix B and it will be seen that it substantially repeats the more popular ballads of the previous lists and again reinforces the continuity from the old Ballad Partners' stock. Following Harward's removed to Cheltenahm there is no evidence of him having continued in the ballad trade.

During the later part of the eighteenth century, many printers set up presses in the West Midlands of England and important centres were Bristol, Worcester, Exeter, Birmingham, Dudley and Coventry. Amongst those who developed businesses in the selling of cheap ephemera and broadside ballads, were the following:

J. Mann	Dudley
Turner	Coventry
Daniel Wrighton	Birmingham
J. Smart	No. 9, St. John's Street, Wolverhampton
S. Gamidge	Prior's Head, Worcester
also at	High Street, Worcester
J. Grundy	Friar's Street, Worcester
and at	26 Moor Street, Birmingham
also at	Goose Lane, Worcester
J. Butler	near the Pack Horse, Garden Market, Worcester
also at	High Street, Worcester
[illegible]. Farrow	Ross (on-Wye)
J. Bennett	Quay Street, St. John's Church, Bristol
Besley	South Street, Exeter

Out of this area, important centres for broadside printing were King's Lynn, where William Garrett set up a press around 1740; Durham where L. Lane, (possibly following on from his father Isaac, around 1740) set up a ballad house; J. and T. Sweet at Stroud in Kent and J. Pilborough in Colchester from 1733 to 1771.

Three cities, Sheffield, Nottingham and Manchester, became important centres for chapbook literature and in the mid-late [illegible] century, though at that time their involvement with the broadside [illegible] appears to have been small.

From 1736 to 1756, John Garnet printed chapbooks and other [illegible] from his press at Castle Green Head "near the Irish Cross" Sheffield. Like Harward at Tewkesbury, Garnet printed songs only in the form of eight page "garlands" and of these only a handful are extant.[83] The Nottingham firms of Burbage and Sutton were the main printers of chapbooks in that city from ca.1772 (Burbage) and ca.1794 (Sutton). Little of their output at this time involved the use of ballads or songs for their interest appears to have lain in legendary romances like Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton. However after the turn of the century, Sutton became very involved in broadside ballads, particularly those political pieces which reflected the growing social unrest of the period.[84] In Manchester during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, young George Swindells set up a press at Hanging Bridge. His is reported to have issued "a large number of ballads, Christmas carols, penny histories, etc. which were extensively distributed throughout the adjoining counties by the hawkers and pedlars of that day."[85] However, very few broadsides are extant with his imprint upon them. He died on March 1, 1796, at the age of thirty-six and the printing business was continued by his eldest son John. Very many of the latter's ballad sheets exist but then his printing career lasted until his death on March 13th, 1853.[86] George Swindells is best remembered for the extensive range of prose chapbooks that he produced; a complete list being included in The Manchester Guardian for November 16, 1874.

By March 1, 1761, plans were in hand for the publication of "an elegant edition and good collection"[87] of ballads. Shenstone and Percy were at this time corresponding upon the project which had arisen from Percy's enthusiasm at obtaining a precious manuscript book of ca.1650

containing many legendary tales in verse and numerous narrative ballads. Percy himself had little clarity of thought concerning the term ballad as is demonstrated by Hustvedt.[88] In a letter to Percy written in late 1761, Shenstone, who was concerned to make clear the distinctiveness of the term, said "It is become habitual to me, to call [illegible] a Ballad, which describes or implies some Action; on the other Hand, I term that a Song, which contains only an Expression of Sentiment."[89] This specific use of the term ballad was later reiterated by Ritson in his introduction to A Select Collection of English Songs.[90] Notwithstanding Shenstone's good advice on this matter, Percy appears to have continued to use the terms; pieces, ditties, love songs and ballads, indiscriminately. It is however another letter and another matter which most deserves attention here. On July 19, 1761, Percy wrote to Shenstone of the progress he was making in gathering material together:

> "Perhaps I shall derive greater assistance from an acquaintance I have made of a much lower stamp, and that is with Dicey of the Printing-Office in Bow Church Yard, the greatest printer of ballads in the Kingdom; he has promised me copies of all his old Stock Ballads, and engaged to rummage into his Warehouse for everything curious that it contains: as a specimen only I have already read above four-score pieces from him, some of which I never saw before." 91

In fact Percy added to his Dicey sheets until he had procured one hundred and forty with imprints and a large number without. His collection of oblong folio broadsides was bound into three volumes containing two hundred and thirty-six ballads in all. When the Dead Family sold off some part of their family's inheritance of Percy's library in September, 1864, Harvard College Library, no doubt at the instigation of Professor Child, purchased the ballad sheets.[92] It is clear from this collection that a sizeable proportion of the famous Reliques of Ancient English Poetry[93] derives from these Dicey sheets which in turn come from the old Ballad Stock or from the pages of

A Collection of Old Ballads. It has long been r[illegible] folio manuscript of Bishop Percy was used to only [illegible] the Reliques. What is less understood is that P[illegible] of recently printed ballad sheets to enlarge his pr[illegible] Sometimes he has merely added a verse here and there, [illegible] reading, but often a complete ballad is given exactly [illegible] Dicey. Unhappily Percy neglected to give completely tr[illegible] provenances to his Reliques as can be seen by comparing the [illegible] editions of the Reliques[94] printed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the edition of Henry Wheatley[95] and of course Hales and Furnival's edition of the complete folio manuscript.[96] No less than sixty-nnine ballads can thus be ascribed in full or in part to known ballad sheets from the Roxburgh, Pepys or Percy collections of broadsides. With very few exceptions these ballads were from the Ballad Partner's stock or their successors. The difference between Percy's collection and that of Thomas Evans[97] is not so much in their source materials as has been suggested by various writers, but in the integrity with which Percy set about his editorial work. Evans for his part merely repeated the notes of A Collection of Old Ballads.

Percy's note of his visit to Oliver Dicey is of value in indicating how obviously the Dicey warehouse dominated the ballad trade and also serves to add credence to the proposition that Bow Church Yard imprints pre-dated Aldermary Church Yard issues since Percy's own collection contained few of the latter.

Another writer who found street literature of interest was James Boswell, though his interests were directed towards chapbooks, not ballads. In the splendid Harvard collection are three volumes containing eighty-three chapbooks printed in London and Belfast. On the fly-leaf of the first volume is a JB note:

James Boswell, Inner Temple 1763. Having when a boy been much entertained with Jack the Giant-Killer, such little Story Books, I have always retained a of affection for them, as they recall my early days. I went to the Printing Office in Bow Churchyard, bought this collection and had it bound up with the Title of Curious Productions...

He goes on to say that he intends to write such stories himself one day, despite the difficulties of acquiring the simplicity of style, for "He who pleases the children will be remembered with pleasure by the men."[98]

In 1764, Cluer Dicey and his new partner, Richard Marshall revamped the 1754 catalogue of William and Cluer Dicey. From the unique copy in Glasgow University Library, it is clear that the sale of slips was advancing whilst the list of oblong folio sheets is smaller than before. The ten years separating these two catalogues had seen the stock of slips rise to three thousand, i.e. approximately one hundred additional titles per year --- a figure very close to the rate of increase of Harkness of Preston's stock almost one hundred years later. Following Cluer Dicey's death in 1775, the family interests in the London business continued for a few years but no members of the Dicey family took an active interest in the ballad trade. Richard Marshall handed on to his son John in 1779 and for the next sixteen years or so John maintained the broadside trade but spent more time developing an interest in chapbooks and in literature for children. In 1785 he involved himself with a redoubtable prude, Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, in publishing her morally uplifting educational primers. Mrs. Trimmer had become active in the new Sunday School movement started by Robert Raikes Jr., the son of William Dicey's old partner. By 1787, it is reported that nearly two hundred and fifty thousand children were attending these Sunday Schools and Mrs. Trimmer was concerned that their

reading should be directed towards useful and [illegible]

With Marshall printing in London and Hazard [illegible] simultaneously, the venture commenced on March 3, [illegible] year over two million tracts had been sold. The [illegible] style of printing, layout, blocks, paper etc., [illegible] they appeared to have completely seduced the public [illegible] as "a plan for substituting something better for [illegible]"[101] and a means to subvert "a central set of booksellers, that are to the full as mischievous as your hawkers, pedlars, and matchwomen, in vending the vilest penny pamphlets to the poor people...."[102] had apparently succeeded beyond even Miss More's wildest dreams. In February 1796, Hazard's name was dropped from the imprint and Marshall alone continued the printing until his dismissal in 1798. It seems that Marshall was not too popular with Miss More and in a letter to Zachary Macauley of September 8th 1797 she complained "Mr. M. has never belied my first impression of him, selfish, tricking and disobliging from first to last." Marshall the businessman was not the most likely man to impress the reforming and intolerant Miss More. By the end of September, 1797, all accounts with Marshall were closed and the work was to be continued by John Evans and Co., at 41 and 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield with J. Hatchard, 173 Piccadilly. Marshall however was not finished, for as soon as he was dismissed he promptly appropriated the name "Cheap Repository Tracts" and began issuing his own material and in many cases much less delicate and morally uplifting material it was. Despite this unforeseen problem Mrs. More continued for another year until September, 1798 when she wrote in her diary "Cheap Repository is closed... Bless the Lord, O my soul!" that I have been spared to accomplish that work."[103]

At some time before 1799, John Marshall had taken on as an apprentice, John Pitts. When this involvement with the Cheap Repository occurred, there is some evidence that Marshall disposed of a goodly

portion of his stock to Thomas [illegible] of Rosemary Lane, London. [illegible] Pitts set up in business on his own account in 1777 [illegible], as is suggested by Leslie Shepard in his very exhaustive monograph (The John Pitts - Ballad Printer)[104] he decided to continue with the [illegible] of ballad-house that he had originally been apprenticed to. He therefore purchased all the Dicey stock he could;

> "called again at Pitts, who had looked out for me [illegible] dozen, all printed by himself since the year 1790. [illegible] used formerly to reside at 14 Gt. St. Andrews St. and has been in business, he says, for 39 years. Pitts told me he had a large collection of old Ballads by other printers, which he had purchased about 40 years since, and offered to sell them to me; an offer, which of course, I accepted. I paid for the 58 dozen, £1.9.0.....he told me he had them chiefly from Wise, in Rosemary Lane and of a man who lived in Tyler St., Clare Market....before he set up business himself, was apprentice to Marshall in Aldermary churchyard, the printer of penny histories etc." 105

This reference to "a man who lived...in Clare Market" is of note for in the Apprentices Register Book of the Company of Stationers, for the years 1729-1793, an entry dated November 7, 1786 tells us that John Marshall resided in Clare Market and had apprenticed his son James to Thomas Wright of Peterborough Court. From the scarcity of broadsides printed by T. Wise of Rosemary Lane, it is clear that this man's involvement with the ballad trade was short-lived — possibly only a few months passed between the acquiring Marshall/Dicey stock and selling this to John Pitts. Sir Frederick Madden having purchased the old stock ballads of Dicey/Marshall/Wise together with almost the entire printed output of stock items from Pitts, we are in the fortunate position of being able to examine in one collection, the production inheritance that passes from Dicey into the nineteenth century.

The somewhat tempestuous state of the ballad trade at the end of the eighteenth century in London, gave an opportunity to a number of young journeyman printers besides John Pitts. Until the death of Cluer Dicey, there had been only one competitor of any consequence in London. Around the 1750-55 period, Robert Bowell of Cranecallar Street, Fleet

Market issued many ballads and chapbooks. From t[illegible]
clear that he was merely duplicating the Dicey [illegible]
(ca.1756) the imprint was carried on by C. Sympson. [illegible]
sheets appear in the Madden Collection at Cambridge and a number of
imprints, impossible to date, exist:

London, Sold at Sympson's, in Stonecutter street, [illegible] (M1-34)
London, Printed and Sold at Sympson's Printing Office in Stonecutter-street, Fleet-Market. (M1-45)
Sympson's Warehouse in stonecutter Street. (M1-61)
Sold in Stonecutter-Street, Fleet Market (M1-102)

Sympson was still active in December, 1786.

At some time in the late 1780's, the firm of R. Coster was active at the printing office, No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield. He then moved to premises at 14, Hosier Lane, West Smithfield and the Evans family commenced their long history of ballad, chapbook and tract printing from 41 and 42, Long Lane. One member of the family, Thomas Evans, had already established himself at 79, Long Lane, where he continued until his death in 1813. His brother John, was a close friend of John Marshall, the Aldermary churchyard printer, and had some connection with Hannah More and her circle. Some confusion is caused by the imprint "J. Evans", since Thomas's son James became a freeman of the Company of Stationers in 1791. He had been indentured on March 25, 1784, whilst his father was then a bookseller in Paternoster Row.[106]

The 'Evans' series of imprints has been dated by Leslie Shepard,[107] and with a few minor amendments it appears sound:

J. Evans & Co., 41 & 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield
Howard & Evans, 41 & 42 Long Lane.
Thomas Evans, 79 Long Lane, West Smithfield
} 1790's

Evans & Ruffey, 79 Budge Row 1801-1819
John Evans, 42 Long Lane, Smithfield to 1818
John Evans & Son, 42 Long Lane 1819-20
J. & C. Evans, 42 Long Lane 1821-28
John Edward Evans, 42 Long Lane 1829-39
John Edward Evans, 42 Snowhill 1840-44
John Edward Evans, 4 Snowhill 1845-46

It is likely that the earliest sheets of J. Evans & Co., are those

with the address, 41 Long Lane, which was owned prior to [illegible] Coster's property. The bulk of the general songs and ballads [illegible] under this imprint were issued before 1795. Like [illegible], [illegible] reduced to a trickle, his output of ballad-sheets when he entered [illegible] trading agreement with Hannah More. Since the agreement did not last long, the firm never closed down this type of trade [illegible]. Very few sheets exist with the "Evans & Ruffey" imprint upon them but it is thought that this partnership was essentially concerned with [illegible] and tracts for the juvenile market. "John Evans & Son" for a time appeared coincident with "John Evans". As late as 1817, ballad sheets of the oblong folio variety were issued by "John Evans," including a number of impressions of Chevy Chase.[108] Hardly any ballads exist with the "John Edward Evans" imprint -- one imagines by then that the trading dominance of Pitts and Catnach was too effective to make such goods viable on a short-run basis.

According to Todd,[109] Jennings's business was started around 1802. Like much of the detail in Todd's lists, too great a dependance has been placed upon the Act of 1799, (39 George II,c.79) which required registration of printing presses. Very many small printers, particularly those the act sought to control, continued to operate un-registered presses from which they poured cheap radical squibs and political lampoons. Jennings first registered a press in 1802 but had been in the ballad trade since gaining his freedom from indenture in June, 1792.[110] At first he worked with his father at Church Yard Court in Fetter Lane, before opening his own business in Upper Marylebone Street. Along with William Mantz, who had completed an apprenticeship to Hillgins, the Aldermanbury printer in 1799, Jennings was instrumental in assisting John Pitts in his first years of trading. A number of sheets issued between 1797 and 1800 were imprinted "Sold by John Pitts, 14 Great St. Andrew Street..." with either "Jennings -- Printer" or "Mantz -- Printer" being added almost as an

afterthought. Jennings's own ballad-sheets were [illegible] following imprints:

Jennings, Upper Mary-le-bone-street
Jennings, 15 Water Lane, Fleet-Street)
Jennings, Water Lane, White-friars)
Jennings, 13 Water Lane, Fleet-street)

Other printers who were significantly embroiled [illegible] were:

J. Davenport, 6, George's Court, St. John's Lane, West Smithfield (ca.1795-ca.1835)
and at Nos. 6 & 7, Little Catherine-street Strand; and Sold at No. 70, Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell.

B. Bowley, No. 96, Aldersgate Street, London (ca.1800)
L. Thompson, No. 21, Upper East-Smithfield (1799-1810)
Larkin How, in Petticoat Lane, White Chapel

The latter printer is especially to be noted for the long series of Robin Hood ballads that he issued ca. 1790-1805.[111] These copied the style of much earlier sheets or they may even have been old sheets with How's imprint added; certainly the blocks they employed belong to the previous century.

Notes

1. Plomer, Henry R., A Dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from [illegible]. The Bibliographical Society, 1922. Reissued 1968, [illegible], p.vii.

2. ibid., p.309.

3. Nichols, J., ed., The Life and Errors of John Dunton (written 1705, printed 1705) edited, with other tracts by him. London, 1818, [illegible].

4. How, John., Some Thoughts on the Present State of Printing and Bookselling. London 1709, p.10.

5. The Company of Stationers, Entry Book of Copies 1710-1746. pp.160-64. (Microfilm 131 - reel 19, University Library, Cambridge.)

6. Gent, T. The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer of York; written by Himself. London: Printed for Thomas Thorpe...1832. p.113.

7. Chance, H. Godwin., Bicentenary Gloucester Journal 4th April, 1722-8th April, 1922. Gloucester, 1922, p.11. Chance is alone in identifying Thomas Dicey, the carrier.

8. An issue of 1769 by Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall shows the plates worn so thin that to obtain an impression they had to be retouched and even so are indented at least 1/16" into the sheet!

9. Gent, op.cit., p.1.

10. Federer, Charles, A., Yorkshire Chap-books. London, 1889, p.201.

11. Plomer, op.cit. p.19. See also Stationers' Company Records; Apprentices Register Books, 1666-1727; entry of 1. October 1705. (Microfilm 131 - reel 11, University Library, Cambridge.)

12. Austin, Roland., "Robert Raikes, The Elder & The Gloucester Journal." in The Library, Third Series, No.21, Vol. VI., January 1915. Also, Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, compiled by Joseph Foster. Vol.II., North and East Riding. 1874.

13. Plomer, op.cit., pp.302-3.

14. Federer, op.cit., p.13.

15. Gent, op.cit., p.

16. ibid., p.113.

17. St. Ives Post Boy, No. 3, Monday 30th June, 1718.

18. Chance, op.cit., p.11. A unique copy is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

19. The date here is assumed from the surviving copy and the fact that it was a weekly newspaper.

20. Unique copy in the Norris Museum, St. Ives, Huntingdonshire.

21. Norris, Herbert E., "St. Ives Mercury" in Notes and Queries, [illegible] II, Dec.17, 1910, pp.481-2.

22. Despite owning the sole surviving copy of this newspaper, [illegible] Norris erroneously stated that Raikes and Dicey were in [illegible] at this time. His statement has led all subsequent [illegible] to repeat the mistake. See; Occasional Hunts County [illegible], [illegible] Ives and the Printing Press, by H.E. Norris, St. Ives, [illegible]

23. Chance, op.cit., p.11.

24. Neuberg, Victor E., "The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade" in The Library Fifth Series, Vol. XXIV, No.3, September, 1969, p.2[illegible].

25. Stationers' Company Records; Apprentices Register Book, [illegible]; entry of 9. June, 1718.

26. Ashton, John., Chap-Books of The Eighteenth Century. Reprinted (from original edition of 1882) by Benjamin Blom, New York, 1966. Introduction, p.ix.

27. A complete run of this newspaper exists in the Reference Room of Northampton Public Library. A microfilm copy is held at the University Library, Cambridge.

28. Northampton Mercury, Vol.I., No.1., May 2, 1720.

29. ibid., Vol.I, No.32., December 5, 1720.

30. ibid., Vol. I., No. 40., January 1, 1720.

31. History of the Northampton Mercury, Northampton, 1901, p.67.

32. Northampton Mercury, December 15, 1746.

33. See particularly; Northampton Mercury, May 29, 1721; September 18, 1721; October 16, 1721; February 19, 1722; May 4, 1724; April 1, 1751 and Roxburgh Ballads, VII, p.211, note to "Roger's Delight" by Tom D'Urfey; VII, p.450, note to "Love's Chronicle..." (originally "The Chronicle: a Ballad." by Abraham Cowley.); Harvard collection, [illegible].684; Padden collection, [illegible]-476, note to "An Excellent ballad, Of the Life and Death of King Richard the Third."

34. Allnutt, W.H., Notes on Printers and Printing in the Provincial Towns of England and Wales. Oxford, 1878. appendix. Allnutt also erroneously dates Raikes' presence in Gloucester in 1720, (p.8).

35. Humphries, Charles; and William C. Smith, Music Publishing in the British Isles...Oxford, 1970, p.109.

36. ibid.

37. Northampton Mercury, Vol.I, No.4.

38. A Register of Books 1728-1732 extracted from The Monthly Chronicle. London, 1964. Item 3 of "Miscellaneous" books, February, 1728, p.53.

39. Shepard, Leslie., John Pitts - Ballad Printer, London, [illegible]

40. A Register of Books....op.cit. November, 1730, p.[illegible]

41. Shepard, op.cit., p.23.

42. ibid., p.155.

43. Ashton, op.cit., p.ix.

44. Neuberg, Victor E., Chapbooks. A guide to reference material.... London, 1972 (2nd edition). p.49.

45. Ashton, op.cit., p.96.

46. Roxburghe Ballads, VII, p.211.

47. Harvard collection, H.1952.

48. Shepard, op.cit., p.28.

49. Bueno, Lillian de la Torre., "Was Ambrose Philips a ballad editor?" in Anglia, Vol. LIX., 1935, p.254.

50. TLS. March 3, 1932.

51. The picture shows a naked women, swimming on her back and being viewed by a 'peeping Tom' and a shoal of fishes. Whether it was the subject, the fishes or a hint of pubic hair that so outraged opinion is not clear.

52. A Collection of Old Ballads, Vol.II, No.26.

53. ibid., Vol.I. No.19.

54. ibid., Vol.II. No.19.

55. The Guardian, No. 1[illegible], March 30, 1719.

56. A Collection of Old Ballads, Vol.II, p.195.

57. Hustvedt, Sigurd Bernhard., Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the eighteenth century. New York, 1916, Reprinted 1971.

58. ibid., p.101.

59. Gentleman's Magazine, January, 18[illegible]. The article, "Old Ballads" is signed 'Tu. Hood' which was a known pseudonym of Joseph Haslewood.

60. Madden Collection, 32-475.

61. Mr. P.[illegible]. Blayney of Trinity College, Cambridge is currently studying in great detail, the printed output of Nicholas Okes' printing shop during the period 1606-1609. By examining a total of [illegible] books, he finds that every item which is 'popular' in a broad sense, has been printed in 'black-letter' whilst the remaining seventy-four per cent are in roman type. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that naive, or newly literate people may well have learnt to read by using

61. cont.
bibles and prayer-books - all printed in black-letter. [illegible] accustomed themselves to this face, they may well [illegible] easier to handle than" to us today, the clearer roman [illegible] Certainly the State maintained the use of black-letter [illegible] Statutes, well into the eighteenth century.

62. Class mark 258.c.109.

63. Neuberg, Chapbooks, op.cit., pp.76-80.

64. Davies, Robert., A Memoir of the York Press, 1868, pp. [illegible]

65. Thomson, Frances M., Newcastle Chapbooks in Newcastle [illegible] University Library, 1969, p.14.

66. Ibid.

67. Gent, op.cit., p.154.

68. The first issue was published on September 14, 1725.

69. Gent, op.cit., p.166.

70. York Courant, April 20, 1730.

71. Ibid., September 10, 1734.

72. Newcastle Courant, October 8, 1720.

73. Beilby cut the vignette for the title page of Brand's Popular Antiquities, 1777.

74. Thomson, op.cit., p.11.

75. Harvard collection, H.49. Also reprinted in Federer, op.cit., pp.231-255.

76. British Piety Display'd..... Part the Sixth" York: Printed by Thomas Gent, 1742. pp.19-36. The advertisement is dated 1743 and may have been added to the collection of six chapbooks when first brought together in one volume by Gent.

77. Federer, op.cit., p.23.

78. Cheney, C.R., "Early Banbury Chap-books and broadsides", in The Library, June, 1936, p.99.

79. ibid., pp.104-5.

80. John Cheney and his descendants, Printers in Banbury since 1767. Banbury, 1936, pp.72-3.

81. Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, vol.iii, p.226.

82. Smith, J.A.D. Observations on the Use and Abuse of the Cheltenham Waters.. Cheltenham: Printed and Sold by S. Harward; Sold also at his shops in Gloucester and Tewkesbury...1786.

83. "Books printed by John Garnet, Sheffield's first known printer." Local History Leaflet No.13, 1969. Items 5,10,11,13,14,16,18,19 and 23.

84. Cropper, Percy J., The Nottinghamshire Printers [illegible] Notices of their Printers and Vendors. [illegible]

85. Manchester Guardian, Monday, November 16, [illegible].

86. "Cecil Sharp's Book of Broadsides." 2062. [illegible] Ralph Vaughan William Memorial Library, London.

87. Shenstone, Works, Vol.III, p.363. A letter from [illegible].

88. Hustvedt, op.cit., p.159.

89. Ibid., p.161.

90. Ritson, English Songs., "A Historical Essay on the origin and progress of National Song," note, p.i.

91. Shepard, op.cit., p.28. Quoting from Hans Hecht, "Thomas Percy and William Shenstone...", Quellen und Forschungen, cii, 1909,9.

92. Harvard collection, ref.100. 3 oblong folio volumes acquired by Quaritch from the Percy sale (Sotheby, [illegible] Catalogue, No. 134).

93. Perhaps as high as a third of the total contents but it is impossible to be dogmatic since Percy was such a 'liberal' editor.

94. The first four editions are all significantly different in minor textual respects; i.e. editions of 1765, 1767, 1775 and 1794.

95. This edition was published in 1886 and was the first issued after the full folio MS. has been at last published. Wheatley also completely revised the question of minstrel origins and supplied a brief survey of the early nineteenth century ballad collectors.

96. Bishop Percy's folio Manuscript. Edited by John W. Hales and Frederick J. Furnivall, assisted by F.J. Child and W. Chappell. London, 1868. The set is found in either three or four volumes; sometimes the "Loose and Numerous Songs" are missing, occasionally bound into Vol.3 and most frequently found as Vol.4. The recent American reprint is in three volumes.

97. Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative, With Some of modern date. 2 vols. Printed by T. (homas) Evans, in the Strand, 1777. The set was enlarged by Thomas' son in 1810 to four volumes.

98. Harvard collection, 57.

99. Shepard, op.cit., p.30.

100. Darton, Harvey., Children's Books in England, Cambridge, 1958, p.97. Darton is quoting from Mrs. Trimmer's "The Guardian of Education."

101. Roberts, William., Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More., London, 1834, 4 vols. Vol.II, p.419, diary entry of Sunday, September 14, 1794.

102. ibid., Vol.II, p.427. Bishop Porteous t[illegible]

103. ibid., Vol.III, p.61.

104. Shepard, op.cit.m p.39.

105. MS. Add. 2646, pp.5-6., University Library, [illegible]

106. Stationers' Company Records; Apprentices [illegible]-1793., entry No. 84 of March 23, 1784.

107. Shepard, op.cit., p.37.

108. Madden Collection, M2-425. Also undated issue M2-424 from 31, Long Lane; issue M2-427 dated 1811 and M2-428 issued by T. Evans.

109. Todd, William B., A Directory of Printers and others in allied trades. London and vicinity 1800-1840; London 1972, p.107.

110. Stationers' Company Records; Apprentices Register Book, 1779-1793., entry No. 186 of June 7, 1785.

111. Madden Collection, M3-679; M3-681; M3-683; M3-685; M3-686 and M3-687.

Chapter four — Nineteenth century ballad printers — an [illegible] check-list.

New printing establishments proliferated at such a rate in the nineteenth century that within a matter of twenty years, almost every [illegible] town and city in England boasted of at least one printer. The factors which gave rise to this expansion of the trade are manifold: the introduction of the iron presses, cheaper paper, better and more efficient modes of communication, increased general literacy and because of the latter factor, an increased awareness and involvement by a greater proportion of the population in matters of politics and affairs of State which led to a demand for up-to-date news.

A comprehensive survey of all those printers who specialised in the broadside-ballad trade is outside the scope of this work. The following pages are offered therefore as merely a descriptive check-list of printers, together with such information on their dates of operation as it has been possible to determine to-date. In addition some general remarks are added concerning the major printers as a basis for future detailed investigation.

In all cases cited, the printers have been identified from copies of extant work, not from registers or trade directories. Little is to be gained from the knowledge of a printer's activity unless one can examine the products of his press. The details of the collections of ballads utilised in compiling this list of printers is shown in Appendix E. A number of the bigger ballad houses issued catalogues detailing their stock holdings of ballads. Since few of these catalogues are generally known and their importance is so great in determining the extent of the trade, a list has been compiled and is given in Appendix F.

The main centres for ballad printing throughout the nineteenth century remained London, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Birmingham, Manchester, York and Bristol. It is doubtful if all the printers from these cities have been identified but it is felt that such omissions as there are will be those printers whose contribution to the trade was barely significant in the overall picture.

One collection has formed the general outline of the following pages; Sir Frederick Madden's great compilation of twenty-six large folio volumes held in the University Library, Cambridge. It is indicative of the parochialism of previous students of broadside-balladry that they have scarcely ever ventured outside the walls of the British Museum, or at a pinch, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in order to locate copies of ballad-sheets. This sin of omission has resulted in them overlooking the major collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century broadsides. Madden applied the same meticulousness to his ballad collecting that is evidenced in his work on palaeographic literature. From the large collection of manuscript notes, letters, articles cut from journals, book-seller's catalogues and auction room lists that form his notes on the ballad trade, it is possible to determine the way in which his collection gradually took shape between 1835 and 1873.[1] In addition to purchasing the old Dicey/Marshall stock from John Pitts in 1837, he employed a ballad hawker to gather all the available stock items from printers active in London, including James Catnach. Two existing collections were purchased intact to form the last three volumes of his own collection; volumes twenty-three and twenty-four contain the Irish broadsides of the folklorist Thomas Crofton Croker, and volume twenty-six contains those sheets culled from the library of Reuben Burrow, the assistant Astronomer Royal at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Full details of all the transactions involved, together with a diary pertaining to his broadside ballad collecting are held in the Manuscript Collection at the University Library, Cambridge.[2]

Madden's collection is strongest in representing the printed output in England between 1750 and 1855. For the period after 1855, it is neccessary to have recourse to the Baring Gould and Crampton collections in the British Museum; the Harmsworth broadsides at Cambridge, C.H.Firth's broadsides at Sheffield University Library and the broadsides in the Manchester Reference Library Collection. Though very many other large

collections exist, as is shown in Appendix F, [illegible] imprints are found to extend the printer's [illegible] example of Madden, the following lists are arranged [illegible] firstly those printers active in London, [illegible] arranged alphabetically by county.

London.

The emergence of John Pitts at the end of the [illegible] has already been discussed. By the beginning of [illegible] he had established himself at 14, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials, and was faced with serious competition in the ballad trade by only the Evans family. He had already enlisted the aid of several other small printers to enlarge his available stock and was actively engaged in increasing this repertoire from those songs sung in the country-side, particularly one imagines from those singers living near his original home in Effingham, Norfolk.[3] After 1819, when he moved to new premises at 6, Great St. Andrew Street, it is noticeable that his new ballads are increasingly topical and political. One feels that this change reflects the appearance of his trade rival, James Catnach, in London. Catnach had immediately seized the opportunity to satisfy the public's demand for political libels, squibs, lampoons and gallows 'confessions' when he moved to London in 1813. Once he became established in Seven Dials at 2 & 3, Monmouth Court, he and his rival Pitts began a spiteful and colourful trading 'war' which included the printing of doggerel verses aimed at ruining one another's reputation.

Very little can be added concerning John Pitts that is not covered in Leslie Shepard's very thorough monograph.[4] The importance of Shepard's work may be judged by remembering firstly that before his book had been printed, no one had clearly identified J.Pitts as John Pitts and in fact a legend propagated by one of Catnach's malicious squibs had become accepted 'fact'. This suggested that Pitts was in reality, an ignorant old bum-boat woman who had once touted her wares

amongst the sailors in Portsmouth harbour. Even as late as 1[illegible] Frank Kidson in his sketch of the broadside trade was [illegible] any alternative to this identification,[5] which had first been [illegible] onto the public in Hindley's Life and Times of James Catnach. The only serious fault (if it can truly be considered a fault) in [illegible]'s work is the relatively small list he has identified of Pitts' work. He had not located the trade catalogue of 1836 which listed over [illegible] titles and was not aware of the Madden Collection, in which he would have found in excess of three thousand songs bearing the Pitts imprint.

Following his move to No. 6, Great St. Andrew Street, Pitts and his rival, Catnach, continually poached one anothers copies and as a result it is all but impossible to determine the priority of issue in any duplicated songs. As a rule it is a reasonable assumption to regard a folksong issued by Pitts from 14, Great St Andrew Street as an issue pre-dating the Catnach copy, especially if this song existed upon a sheet from the old Dicey stock. Having made this assumption the problem then becomes complicated if an issue by the Evans family is extant for they too have a temuous connection with the old Dicey stock through their associations with John Marshall. A guide that can be of assistance is the paper stock used. Typically, all ballad printers used execrable paper stock. Before the introduction of a very thin, cheap, white stock about 1815, the printers employed thick paper of the consistency of blotting-paper and in various dirty shades of off-white. Two printers, Pitts and Jennings, appear to have purchased a large quantity of grey paper, whilst the Evans family habitually used a dove-blue paper. The thin white stock used after ca. 1815 was presumably introduced because the new iron presses allowed an easier press practice than had been the case with the old wooden presses, when paper had had to be, (or should have been) dampened before use. Thus by bearing all these factors in mind it is sometimes possible to hazard an intelligent guess at the date of a sheet or slip. No credence can be given to type-face comparisons since

the ballad printers employed only the detritus of the [illegible] of respectable printing houses. They habitually mixed [illegible] and roman faces, old styles with new, and were very [illegible] 'b' as 'q' and removing with a bodkin, the bar of an 'e' to form a [illegible] 'o', or of an 'f' to form an old-style 's'. The ultimate in slipper [illegible] practice was to replace letters missing from a font with [illegible] that the printed sheet bore many blanks where words [illegible]. A notable exponent of this latter device and possibly the worst printer that has ever been, was Brereton of Church Street, [illegible].

Towards the end of his life, fate was very hard on old John Pitts for he went blind. Nevertheless he continued to take an active interest in his business until his death in April, 1844, at the age of seventy-nine years. If anything gave him satisfaction in his last three years, it was the knowledge that he had out-lived his arch-rival Catnach who was thirty years his junior.

Of Catnach there is little need to write as so many books have been written which deal with his life and the press he owned.[6] A miserly, unscrupulous money-grabber, he was also an excellent judge of popular taste, a successful businessman and a better quality printer than most of those involved in the ballad trade. As the son of John Catnach, who had been the partner of William Davison of Alnwick, he inherited a large number of wood-engravings by the talented artist Thomas Bewick. His use of these blocks in his ballad sheets and chapbooks makes otherwise undistinguished printed ephemera highly desirable to the collector.

Pitts and Catnach pioneered several innovations in street literature. They made full use of such technical improvments as they could reasonably afford. They varied the format of their broadsides though the quarto sheet that could be split to form two slip-songs remained the most popular. In addition they used the full sheet to produce poster - sized broadsides, notably of carols embellished with woodcuts. The poster sheet could also be used to form two long half-sheets or 'long-songs'.

These later became known as 'three yards a penny' [illegible] half-sheet bore three columns of songs, twenty-[illegible] Both men were also very influential in the dissemination of children's literature. They produced chapbooks of nursery rhymes, [illegible] like Cinderella and Beauty and the Beast, riddle books and alphabets. Catnach, like his father before him, also printed [illegible], thus rendering a service to the cause of increasing literacy throughout the general population. The battledore was the successor of the old horn-books and bore all the letters of the alphabet in both upper and lower case, together with dipthongs and common ligatures. Following these would frequently be a copy of a passage from the bible or a part of the Lord's Prayer.

Though we are uncertain of the means employed by Pitts to distribute his wares and are likely to remain so, it is evident that he had a wide distribution throughout East Anglia for it there that one most often encounters a traditional variant of a folksong observing the form as printed by him. Catnach had a number of full-time agents, some of whom later became printers in their own right at the expense of the London printer whose stock they copied. Notable amongst these were: Batchelor of London, Sharman at Cambridge, Bennett in Brighton, Mrs Boyes in both Brighton and Hove, Shatford in Cirencester, Mrs Harvey in Sheffield, Butterworth in Manchester and Marshall in Bristol. Collard of Bristol acted as agent in that city and the surrounding region for a number of years whilst also printing on his own behalf. At times he even used the reverse of Catnach's sheets to print his own ballads.

The stock of the Pitts business was taken over by Elizabeth Hodges in 1844, and until she moved to Grafton Street in or around 1855, she kept much of the old catalogue in stock. A rival claimant who, in his imprint declared himself 'late Pitts' was Mitchelson, a printer at Clerkenwell Green. If the existing record is to be trusted, his claim is weak and his influence upon trade arguably non-existent. Following

Mrs Hodges move in 1855, the Pitts [illegible] and since he also succeeded to the Catnach [illegible] and James Paul, he can be said to have [illegible]. Before Monmouth Street was pulled down to [illegible] Avenue, Fortey moved from the Catnach shop to [illegible] next door to the old Pitts premises. Fortey [illegible] did not continue for long as by 1865 a trade rival emerged south of the Thames. Henry Parker Such quickly established a large ballad stock, leaning heavily upon the Pitts and Catnach lists. By 1877 when he issued his own catalogue of more than two thousand songs, he had built up a reputation throughout England as the main supplier of ballad sheets. He managed this in spite of Fortey's competition by realising that the old method of distribution by hawker and chapman was no longer effective since they were a vanishing breed of men. To replace the travelling retailer he offered his stock by mail order. His customers obtained a catalogue and paid him in postage stamps or money orders, the rates being clearly indicated on page two of his catalogue. Such had been in business since 1846 but it was the last thirty years of the nineteenth century and the years leading up to the first world war that marked his dominance of the trade. Perhaps the reason for this resides not with the old man but with his son, also H.P.Such, who appears to have become manager of the business arcund 1888. Such was succeeeded by Felix McGlennon, A.Myers and the News of the World aftar 1915, but the trade was no longer in broadsides but song-books and broadsheets (i.e. printed on bothsides) which contained not the old folksongs and ballads; instead they issued only contemporary popular songs.. The odd result of this breakdown of almost four hundred years of continuity was that the folk singer was unable to re-inforce his repertoire of songs from cheaply printed sheets and so in this age of mass communication he was obliged to depend more than ever before upon the vagaries of oral transmission. The experience of present day collectors is that their informants are increasingly only able to supply fragments of texts rather than complete

folksongs and this may well be due to the [illegible] of broadsides.

The dates given against the names of the following printers are often only approximations though every effort has been made to check against trade directories where available. The information given in Professor Todd's recently published work has been emphasised since his dates are frequently much narrower in range than can be obtained from examples of a particular printer's work. In those instances where a printer is known to have been operating within the period covered by Todd, yet his name is absent from Todd's list, a suitable note is appended.

T.Batchelor,	Crown Alley, Finsbury. Also at	1807 — 10
	115, Long Alley, Moorfields.And	1811 — 20
	at 14, Hackney Road Crescent.	1828 — 32
G.I.Birt,	39, Great St. Andrew Street.	1841 — 61
T.Birt,	10, Great St. Andrew Street.	1828 — 39
	And at 39, Great St. Andrew Street.	1828 — 41
David Carpue,	3, Old Montague St., Osbourne St., Whitechapel.	1807 — 28
	Also at 23, Rose Lane, Spitalfields.	1828
Daniel Carpue,	3, Old Montague St.	1833 — 38
H.Dever (late Paul's),	18, Great St. Andrew Street.	not in Todd.
H.Disley	16, Arthur St., Bifard St., and 57 High St., St.Giles.	
W.S.Fortey,	2 & 3, Monmouth Court.	1859 — 82
	And at 4, Great St. Andrew Street.	1882 — 1901
J.Hill, (late Taylor?)	14, Waterloo Road.	1836
Hilliat and Martin,	13, Prescot St., Goodman's Fields.	ca. 1835
J.Martin	13, Prescot St. And at 14, Swan St., Minories.	not in Todd
John Hilliat,	23, Goodman's Fields, Minories.	ca. 1832

(the latter entered in Todd as 'Hillat' ?)

E.Hodges,	31, Dudley Street, Seven Dials.	[illegible]
J.Norris,	8, Moor St., Soho.	[illegible]
C.Paul,	18, Great St. Andrew St., and at Bread St.	[illegible]
H.Paul,	22, Brick Lane, Spitalfields.	[illegible]
J.Phair,	67, 69, 76 a nd 77, Great Peter Street, Westminster.	[illegible]
G.Piggott,	60, Old Street.	[illegible]
Charles Pigott,	52, Compton St., Clerkenwell.	[illegible]
J.V.Quick,	Little Paternoster Row and Fashion St., Spitalfields.	[illegible]
	Later at 42, Bowling Green Lane, Clerkenwell.	1832 — 1853
Ryle & Co.	2 & 3, Monmouth Court, Seven Dials.	1839 — 1859
(Also traded as 'J.Paul' and 'Paul & Ryle.')		
A.Seale,	Tottenham Court Road.	1799 — 1821
J.Sharp,	30, Kent St., Borough.	1834 — 1853
(May have been the precursor of H.P.Such, q.v.)		
C.Smeaton,	74, Tooley Street.	1809 — 1839
Thomas Storer,	7, King St., Cloth Fair, West Smithfield. (Was associated with J.Storer).	1815 — 1817
Henry P.Such,	177, Union Street, Borough.	1846 — 1914
	(Father and son.)	

The above printers represent the major specialists in broadside ballad production. The following also involved themselves in the trade but the paucity of extant copies suggests that it was not an important portion of their businesses.

B.Bedborough,	14, New Montague St., Spitalfields.	not in Todd
Newman & Bedborough,	4, Lower Keats Street.	ca. 1850
Elizabeth Bird,	New Compton Street., Soho.	1841 — 1845

Bishop,	6, Denmark St., St. George's East.	[illegible]
J.Burns,	Holborn Bars.	[illegible]
A.Carvalho,	No.3, Crabtree Row, Hackney Road.	not in Todd.
H.Chance,	16, Dorrington Street, Leather Lane.	[illegible]
B.D.Cousins,	18, Duke St., Lincoln's Inn Fields.	[illegible]
R.Edwards,	56, Lemon Lane, Whitechapel.	1837
(J.A.) Edwards,	Kentish Town,	1849 — 1857
James Gillett,	Charles St., Hatton Garden.	not in Todd
W.Hart,	Gravel Lane, Whitechapel.	not in Todd.
J.Hiles,	Seven Dials.	
O. Hodgson,	10, Cloth Fair, West Smithfield.	ca. 1840
C.Hunt(late Quick),	8, Little Paternoster Row.	ca. 1853
(John) Jones,	Drury Lane.	1823 — 1832
Lee,	20, Old Boswell Court, Temple Bar.	not in Todd.
W.Lowe,	37, New Compton St., Seven Dials.	1829 — 1835
Lucksway,	Westminster.	not in Todd.
A.MacPherson,	Russell Court, Covent Garden.	1799 — 1824
W.C.Mantz,	Brick Lane, Spitalfields.	ca.1798 — 1840
J.Marks,	206, Brick Lane, Whitechapel, and at 91, Long Lane.	1836 — 1857
W.J.Mitchelson,	Turnmill St., Clerkenwell Green.	ca. 1845
? J.Morgan,	Brick Lane, Spitalfields.	

(This man was the street orator and ballad writer, often employed by Catnach between 1835 and 1840, who later gave both Mayhew and Hindley such a lot of details of the day-to-day life 'in the Dials ballad market'.)

Mullins,	Red-crop Street.	not in Todd.
J.W.Peel,	74, New Cut, Lambeth.	1823 — 1829
Spurrier,	Lichfield Street.	not in Todd.
E.Thomas,	6, Denmark Court.	1808 — 1832
(J.C.)Wadham,	6, Borough Road, Southwark.	1834

Bedfordshire.

No printers identified.

Berkshire.

W.Willmer	Abingdon.
W.Hann,	Speenhamland, Nr. [illegible].
Knight & Son,	Windsor.

Buckinghamshire.

J.Sleath,	Stoney Sratford.

Cambridgeshire.

H.Talbot,	Cambridge.
Talbot & Ladds,	Cambridge.
Wilson,	Bridge St., Cambridge.

Cheshire.

Hobson,	Ashton-under-Lyne and Stalybridge.
J.Dean,	Congleton.
Barlow,	Knutsford.
Josiah Deakin,	High St., Stockport.
G.Booth,	Hyde.

In addition there was an active printer whose imprint " Vernon Street, Chester " remains anonymous.

Cornwall.

Armley,	Fowey.

Cumberland.

John Cockburn,	26, West Tower St., Carlisle.

W.Hodgson,	Carlisle.	[illegible]
S.Jefferson,	Carlisle.	
R.Johnson,	Carlisle.	ca.1810
F.Jolie (&Sons.)	Carlisle.	[illegible]
B.Scott,	Carlisle.	ca. [illegible]

B(arnwise) Stewart, 139, Butchergate, Carlisle.ca. [illegible] — [illegible].

(Stewart was in addition,a [illegible] for many of the printers in the north of England. Bodden corresponded with him on a number of occasions and received over sixty dozen different titles, many without imprint, together with much information concerning other printer's stocks.)

Matthew Henderson, Longtown.

William Wilson, 56, King Street, Whitehaven.

T.Wilson, 45, King Street, Whitehaven.

William Robertson, Wigton.

Derbyshire.

Mason, Belper.

J.Ford, Irongate, and New Square, Chesterfield. ca.1850

(Ford's copy book is held in Derby Public Library,local reference collection. In addition to containing full details of his stock, in several cases it shows the progress through which several sheets were altered by the addition of a song in place of another. The subsequent quarto sheet, bearing two or three songs might then be altered again so that one extremely popular song like Phoebe and the Dark Eyed Sailor would be printed in up to ten issues, each time with a different accompanying ballad.)

T.Richardson,	Derby.	
Wilkins,	Derby.	
Cotes,	Wirksworth.	

Devon.

E(lias) Keys.	7, James Street, [illegible]	[illegible] — 1841

(His broadsides and chapbooks were distributed by R.Stone, Exeter; W.Burridge, Truro; [illegible]; C.Jeffries, Bristol.)

Besley, J.& H.,	Exeter.	
Clark,	Exeter.	
Jeremiah Griffiths,	Exeter.	
William Bates,	Plymouth.	

Durham.

H.J.Dixon,	Bishops Wearmouth.	
W.Oliver,	Darlington.	
T.Hoggett,	Durham.	
W.W.Murray,	75, Claypath, Durham.	1847 — 1856
Walker,	Market Place, Durham.	1797 — 1847
Geo. Walker Jr.	Sadler St., Durham.	1847 — 1885
J.Marshall,	Bottle Bank, Gateshead.	1801 — 1810

(After 1810, when his Gateshead premises was burnt to the ground, Marshall moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.)

W.Stephenson,	8, Bridge Street, Gateshead.	

(He was succeeded by his wife, Mary.)

T.Huntly,	140, High St., Sunderland.	
W.Orange,	North Shields.	
J.K.Pollack,	15, Union St., North Shields.	
Appleton,	Stockton.	

Essex.

W.Hill, Ballingdon.

J.Shearcroft, Chelmsford.

Dutton, Chelmsford.

J.Marsden Colchester. (Often printed by Carpenter, London.)

Gloucestershire.

Arnold, 3, Narrow Wine St., Bristol.

M.Baller, 50, Broadmead, Bristol.

John Bennett, 106, Redcliffe St., Bristol. 1813 — 1816

at Quay St., Bristol. 1816 — 1828

at St. John's Gate and Christmas St. 1828 — 1830

John Bonner, 28, Broad Street, Bristol. 1806 — 1825

and at 31, Back St., 1840 — 1845

also 21, Mary Port St. ?1846 — 1864

H.Bonner, 23, Mary Port Road, Bristol. 1865

also Under Newgate, Bristol. ca. 1866 ?

Bonner & Henson, 3 Narrow Wine St., Bristol. 1825 — 1830

(John Bonner may have been at the last named address between 1830 and 1840.)

Clouter, 13, Castle Street, Bristol. 1806 — 1815

S.B.Clouter, 28, Bath Street, Bristol. 1803 — 1805

W.Collard, Bridewell lane and Hotwells, Bristol. 1807 — 1846

C.Huston, 2, Castle Green, Bristol.

W.Major, St. John's Steps, John St., Bristol.

Anne Major, St. John's Steps, John St., Bristol. 1814 — 1835

(She may only have printed from 1827.)

W.Marshall, Bristol.

H.Shepherd, 6, Broad Weir and Temple Gate, Bristol. 1823 — 1825

J.Smith, 6, Broad Weir, Bristol.

Thomas Stevens Storer, 4, Narrow Wine St., Bristol.

and at 128, Temple Street, Bristol.

W.Taylor, 113, Redcliffe St., Bristol.

also at 62, Redcliffe St.

and at 38, Temple St.

T? Shenton, Opposite the Town Clock, Cheltenham.

T.Willey, 219, High Street, Cheltenham.

W.Clift, Dyer St., Cirencester.

(In a letter to Madden, Clift explained that he stopped printing ballads around 1836-7.)

T.S.Porter, Wooton-under-Edge and Cirencester.

Shipway, Cirencester.

W.Turner, Cricklade St., Cirencester.

Wm. Price, Black Friars, Southgate St., Gloucester.

W.F.Walden, Gloucester.

Reddell, 7, High Street, Tewkesbury.

Hampshire.

Gardner, Queen St., Portsea.

Horsey Sen. 42, Queen St., Portsea.

Jones, Havant St., Portsea.

G.Moxon, Queen St., Portsea.

W.Oxlade, 174, Queen St., Portsea.

Rogers, Portsea.

J.Trives & Son, St. George's Square, Portsea.

J.Williams, 47, Queen St., Portsea.

J.Davies and R.Williams, Portsmouth.

Bishop, Broad St., or Point, Portsmouth.

W.Harrison, Portsmouth.

Price, Portsmouth.

E.Hartnell, Victoria Arcade, [illegible]

G.A.Hillier, Morpeth House, [illegible]

H.Caplen, Newport, Isle of [illegible].

Herefordshire.

J.Dean, Congleton.

M.Child, Eign St., Hereford.

R.Elliot, Eign St., Hereford.

(Elliot's son maintained an output of [illegible] until 1834.)

Hull & Sons, Hereford.

John Parker, Hereford.

T.B.Watkins, Hereford.

J.Gibbs Jr., Howerd St., Ledbury.

J.V.Chilcott, Broad St., and Draper's Lane, Leominster.

W.Farrer, Ross.

T.Harris, Ross.

Hertfordshire.

Shaw, Maidenhead St., Hertford.

Huntingdonshire.

Wm. Hatfield,	Huntingdon.	ca. 1835
Hatfield's Gazette Office,	Huntingdon.	ca.1844 — 1865
A.Jenkinson,	Jenkinson's Wharf, Huntingdon.	ca.1770 — 1810
Jenkinson & Son,	Huntingdon.	ca. 1810
Lovell,	Huntingdon.	ca. 1805 — 1825
Lovell & Sons,	Huntingdon.	ca. 1825 — 1845
Croft,	St. Ives.	

Kent.

A.Brown, Deptford.

C.Mate,	No.9, Market Place, Dover.	[illegible]
Helyer,	Greenwich.	
Rose,	Greenwich.	
W.Eppe,	Rochester.	
J.& T.Sweet,	Strood.	

Lancashire.

R.Butler,	Water St., Blackburn.	
J.Hanby,	Blackburn.	
S.Gardner,	Next to the Post Office, Bolton.	
Thornton,	Burnley.	
R.Parker,	Chorley.	
Jackson,	Market St., Lancaster.	
W.Armstrong,	Banastre St., Liverpool.	
Carr,	Liverpool.	
John Duckett,	1, Highfield St., Liverpool.	
Ferguson,	Whitechapel, Liverpool.	
Joseph Kiernan,	81, Cheapside and at 1, Highfield St., Liverpool.	1819 — 1847
Margaret Kiernan,	1, Highfield St., Liverpool.	1847
W.McCall,	39, Standish St., and Cartwright Place, Byrom St., Liverpool.	1847 — 1857
J.Pannell,	24, Byrom St., Liverpool. (Pannell then moved to Horncastle, Lincs.)	
Mrs Summerside,	Whitechapel, Liverpool.	
C.Thompson,	16 & 20, Button St., Liverpool.	
White,	Rose Place, Scotland Road, Liverpool.	
Wm. Shaw,	6, Langholme Square, Clayton St., Liverpool.	1821 — 1844
and at	20, Canning Place, Liverpool.	1845
Aston,	Manchester.	

J.Cadman, 152, Gt. Ancoats St., Manchester.

John O.Bebbington, 22, Goulden St., Oldham Road, Manchester.

J.O.Carder, Manchester.

R.& W.Dean, Manchester.

Harper, Hanging Ditch, Manchester.

G.Innes, 7, Market Place, Manchester.

Alexander Ireland, Market Street, Manchester. 1805 — 1865

George Jaques, Oldham Road, Manchester.

Wilmot H.Jones, Market St., Manchester.

Lanes, Back Turner Street, Manchester.

G.Livesey, Whittle St., Oldham Road, and Church St., Manchester.

Mansan & Davies, Hanging Ditch, Manchester.

T.Pearson, 6, Chadderton Road, Oldham Road, Manchester.

(Pearson appears to have acquired and to have continued to print and enlarge the stock of Bebbington, q.v. He issued catalogues which are extant; see Appendix P.)

J.Pratt, Long Millgate, Manchester.

W.Shelmerdine, 16 Hanging Ditch, opposite The Spredd Eagle, Manchester.

also W. & J. Shelmerdine, Deansgate, Manchester. (As early as 1661, there was a Ralph Shelmerdine, bookseller, in Manchester. Plomer notes that he was the son of another Manchester bookseller, William Shelmerdine. Whether or not this indicates a very long association with bookselling in Manchester by this family is not easily proved but the evidence is interesting.)

A.Swindells, Manchester. ? up to 1819

(A.Swindells died in 1796 but extant broadsides appear to indicate that the imprint remained unchanged until 1819 when son John added his name. Perhaps the business was continued for a while by the latter's mother.)

J.Swindells, [illegible]

J.Wheeler, [illegible]

John White, [illegible]

Willson, Manchester.

R.Peel, 67, Ashton Road, [illegible].

Ducker, Prescot.

C.Ambler, 3, Temple Court, [illegible].

Armstead, 4, Old Shambles, Preston.

W.Gillow, 17, Back Charlotte St., and 4, Leeming St., Preston.

John Harkness, 121 & 122, Church St., Preston. ca.1839 — 1860

(Harkness was probably the most widely influential ballad printer in the north of England during the mid-nineteenth century. His sheets were at first numbered and the Madden Collection has an almost complete set. These were sent to Madden following correspondance between him and Harkness in 1854. [7] From an examination of these sheets it can be seen that Harkness expanded his list by about one hundred new sheets each year from 1840.)

J.Livesey, Church St., Preston.

T.Walker, Preston. ca. 1804

S.Ashworth, Rochdale.

Liptrot's St. Helens.

W.Eyres, Horse Market, Warrington.

J.Haddock, Warrington.

Leicestershire.

Isaac Cockshaw, Chatham St., and near The Three Crowns, Leicester.

Fowler, Leicester.

Martin, Leicester.

Pares, Leicester.

E.Smith, Church Gate, Leicester.

Throsby, Leicester.

T.Warwick, Loseby Lane, Leicester.

Lincolnshire.

Greenwood, Barrow-on-Humber.

Briggs, Brigg.

William Delph, Fisherman, Great Grimsby. ca. [illegible] — [illegible]

(Delph is an enigmatic figure who appears to have sold ballad sheets using a number of east coast fishing ports as a variable imprint. The most commonly encountered are Grimsby, King's Lynn and Yarmouth.)

Skelton, Grimsby. ca. 1845 — 1860

(Skelton's copy book at Grimsby Public Library has copies of many ballad sheets. In addition it notes the size of each impression; usually no more than two hundred and fifty copies.)

J.Pannell, Horncastle. (See Lancashire printers.)

W.Brooke, Lincoln. ca. 1805

Brumby, Butchery Lane, Lincoln.

Leary, 19, Strait, Lincoln.

(Leary specialised in large poster-sized full sheets of upwards of sixty songs. Many of the songs collected by Percy Grainger in North Lincolnshire in 1906 and 1908 can be found on Leary broadsides of ca. 1880.)

J.Ringham, 50, Steep Hill, Lincoln.

W.Smith, Lincoln.

S.Thorpe, Strait, Lincoln.

Watson, Louth.

Middlesex.

No printers located as yet.

Norfolk.

Abbott,	Diss.	
Aikin,	King's Lynn.	ca. 1840
Longbottom,	King's Lynn.	ca. 1830 — 1840
William Parfrement,	16, Keppel Street, King's Lynn.	ca. 1825 — 1835
W.Whittingham,	King's Lynn.	ca. 1800 — 1810
J.Jungius,	Lower Coat Lane, Norwich.	ca. 1605
G.Stewardson,	Magdalen St., Norwich. Also at St. Clement's, Norwich.	
W.Upcroft,	Magdalen St., St.Clement's, Norwich.	
R.Walker,	St. Lawrence, Norwich.	
Also,	"Printed for S.Lane, by Walker, Printer near the Duke's Palace, Norwich."	ca. 1820
Later,	Lane & Walker, St. Andrew's, Norwich.	
J.Hastings,	Watton.	
Crisp,	Post Office Row, Yarmouth.	

Northamptonshire.

Cordeaux,	Northampton.	1815 — 1850
Dicey, Sutton & Smithson,	Northampton.	1808 — 1813
Dicey & Smithson,	Northampton.	1813 — 1831
Henson,	81, Bridge St., Northampton.	1845 — 1857
R.Weaver,	Chronicle Office, Northampton.	1835
S.Inns,	Towcester.	1818 — 1844

Northumberland.

William Davison,	Alnwick.	1771 — 1858
J.Weatherley,	Berwick.	

W.Guthrie,	Blyth.	
H.Barker,	Durham.	
D.Angus & Son,	Drury Lane, The Side, Newcastle.	[illegible]
G.Angus,	Side, Newcastle.	[illegible]
David Bass,	Pilgrim St., Newcastle.	[illegible]
John Bell,	Quayside, Newcastle.	[illegible]
Boag,	Newcastle.	[illegible]
Wm. Bowman,	52, Bigg Market, and 12, [illegible] Lane, Newcastle.	[illegible]
J.Clark,	Newcastle.	
T. & H. Dodds,	43, Head of the Side, Newcastle.	
T.Dodds,	77, Side, Newcastle.	
W. Fordyce,	18, Grey St., Newcastle.	1826 — 1838
W. & T. Fordyce,	48, Dean St., Newcastle.	1838 — 1865
John Gilbert,	Royal Arcade, Newcastle.	1852 — 1856
William Hall,	Newcastle.	1795 — 18-?
J.Marshall,	Old Flesh Market, Newcastle.	1810 — 1831
John Ross,	Arcade, Newcastle.	1847 — 1852
William Stewart,	Head of the Side, Newcastle.	1857 — 1866

(Stewart may only have sold broadsides printed by W.R.Walker, q.v.)

Thompson,	Newcastle.	
George Walker,	Collingwood St., Newcastle.	1859 — 1863
	and at Dean St., Newcastle.	1863 — 1865
	also at Blackett St., Newcastle.	1874 — 1894
William Reay Walker,	Royal Arcade, Newcastle.	1856 — 1866

Nottinghamshire.

W.Ordoyno,	Crop St., Mount East, Nottingham.	
C.Plant,	6, Clare St., Nottingham.	
Wightman,	Sutton.	
Hodson,	Retford.	

Rutland.

No printers located as yet.

Shropshire.

Prance,	Shrewsbury.
Waidson,	Shrewsbury.

Somerset.

John Binns,	Bath. (Succeeded to Hazard ?) [illegible] — 1821
J.Fryer,	Westgate St., Bath.
Samuel Hazard,	Bath. c.1770 — 1806
T.Whiteford,	27, Walcot St., and 2, Avon St., Bath.
Charles Ady.	Bath. — 1815

Staffordshire.

J.Tregortha,	Burslem. (Sold to Mrs Summerside, Liverpool.)
Cotton,	Tamworth.
Woodward,	Tipton.
J.Cooper,	Newcastle-under- Lyne.

Suffolk.

W.Harper,	Halesworth.
Brightly,	Sarmundham.

Surrey.

Russell,	Bermondsey.

Sussex.

T.Garland,	Battle.
Phillip & Co.,	13, Poplar Place, Brighton.
Phillip & Patching,	21, North Street, Brighton.

C.Phillips,	7, Brighton Place, Brighton.	[illegible]
Mrs C.Phillips,	7, Brighton Place, Brighton.	[illegible]
R.Hook,	8, Market St., Brighton.	
Charles Tourle,	Edward St., Brighton.	
Mason,	Chichester.	
W.Smith,	Hastings.	
W.Randall,	Hurstperpoint.	
T.Wells,	Hurstperpoint.	

Warwickshire.

J.Allen,	New St., Birmingham.	
J.Belcher & Son,	Birmingham.	
T.Bloomer,	High St., Birmingham.	
Thomas Brandard,	Birmingham.	1808 — 1838
T.Butterworth,	Stafford Street, Birmingham.	
Charles Caswell,	Birmingham.	1856 — 1923
John Green,	Birmingham.	
T.Croom,	Birmingham.	
William Harris,	Deriton, Birmingahm.	
J.Hawkins,	Birmingham.	
E.Jones,	Birmingham.	ca. 1790 — 180- ?
S.Kettle,	84, Digbeth, Birmingham.	
T.Pearson,	Birmingham.	1785 — 18— ?
R.Peart & Co.,	Bull St., Birmingham.	
William Pratt,	82, Digbeth, Birmingham.	1849 — 1856
Joseph Russell,	21, 23 & 24, Moor St., Birmingham.	1814 — 1856
S.W.Russell,	21 & 23, Moor St., Birmingham.	
Thos.Ashton Jackson,	73, Moor St., and 69, Digbeth, Birmingham. (Late Russell.)	ca. 1850 ?
Swinney & Ferral,	Birmingham.	
Swinney & Hawkins,	Birmingham.	1800 — 1804

Swinney & T.Martin,	Birmingham,	180[illegible] — [illegible]
J.Rosewarne & Son,	Birmingham.	
Taylor,	43 & 112 Moor St., Birmingham.	
Sarah Taylor,	Moor St., Birmingham.	
E.Taylor,	10, Upper Priory, Birmingham.	
also at	Digbeth and 67, Steelhouse Lane, near Russell St., Birmingham.	
Taylor & Co.,	10, Upper Priory, Birmingham.	
Joseph Taylor,	32, Smallbrook St., Birmingham.	
T.Turner,	Top of Snow Hill, Birmingham.	
H.Wadsworth,	71, Lichfield St., and 90, Moor St., Birmingham.	
T.Watts,	14, Snow Hill, Birmingham.	
Watton & Price,	Birmingham.	
John Whiting,	21, & 134, Moor St., Birmingham	
T.Wood,	New Meeting St., Birmingham.	
Wm. Wright,	No.3, Moor St., and Smithfield, also 22, Digbeth and 99, Lichfield St., Birmingham.	
D.Wrighton,	86, Snow Hill, Birmingham.	
R.Astill,	Hertford St., Coventry.	
William Illiffe,	Smithfield St., Coventry.	
W.Layland,	Cosford Street, Coventry.	
John Turner,	High St., Coventry.	ca. 1790 — 1840

Westmorland.

Michael & Richard Branthwaite,	Kendal.	1803 — 1855

Wiltshire.

Ricketts,	Highworth.	
Fowler,	Silver Street, Salisbury.	

Worcestershire.

Johnson,	Dudley.
J.Rann,	Dudley.
G.Walters,	High St., Dudley.
T.Hayes,	Broad St., Worcester.
R.Houghton,	5, Merry Vale, Worcester.
Lewis,	Worcester.
H.F.Sefton,	41, Broad St., Worcester.

Yorkshire.

J.Harrop,	Alston.
Thompson,	Bedale.
W.B.Johnson,	Beverley.
Proctor,	Beverley.
M.Turner,	Beverley.
J.Bentley,	48, Market St., Bradford.
R.Sedgwick,	Bradford.
Spencer,	Bradford.
Brewin & Davies,	12, Shamble St., Barnsley.
John Elliot,	Barnsley.
G.Kaye,	6, Pitt St., Barnsley.
T.Lingard,	'Chronicle' Office, Barnsley.
G.Moxon,	22,Market Hill, Barnsley.
S.Sedgwick,	39, Race Common Road, Barnsley.
W.Garforth,	Doncaster.
Moss,	St. Sepulchre Gate, Doncaster.
Etherington,	Driffield.
G.F.Parker,	Temperance Hotel, Ealey.
R.Hodson,	Market Place, Gisborough.
Acton,	Halifax.
N.Darby,	Halifax.
Jacobs,	Printing Office, Halifax.

J.Lister,	Near the old Church, [illegible]
Justice,	Howden.
J.Ferraby,	Market Place, Hull. Also at
	Butchery, Hull.
Innes,	Hull.
Montgomery & Sons,	23, Lowgate, Hull. Also [illegible]
	Paterson's Library, Fish Street, Hull.
R.Barr,	19, Timble Bridge, Leeds.
E(dward) Baines,	Leeds.
G.Buchan,	Fleet St., Biggate, Leeds.
J.Large,	34, Duke St., Leeds.
A?Mann,	Central Market, Leeds.
J.Parrott,	Fleet St., Biggate, Leeds.
J.Roberts,	10 & 31, Wood St., Leeds.
G.Wilson, L	Leeds.
William Walker,	Otley. (Walker was the principal purveyor of broadsides, chapbooks and "The Cottage Library" series of cheap literature from 1860 until 1900. The firm still exists and though they have not printed chapbooks and broadsides for many years, a large stock was found on their premises and was purchased privately. At the present time a large number of Walker broadsides and chapbooks are being auctioned and sold at inflated prices, it not being realized that this recently discovered stock may well be the source of supply.
J.Gibson,	Malton.
J.Forth,	Pocklington.
Sheridan,	Pocklington.
Bowman,	Richmond.
Todd,	Scarborough. See also Thirsk, below.

Bargin & Son	Sheffield.	[illegible]
Joseph Ford,	70, Fleetwood St., Sheffield.	
W.Ford,	York St., Sheffield.	
Mrs Harvey,	Sheffield Park, Sheffield.	
Hopkindon,	Sheffield.	ca.[illegible]
Shanks,	Sheffield.	
White's	West Bar, Sheffield.	ca.[illegible]
Todd,	Thirsk. See also [illegible], [illegible].	
Nichols,	Churchyard, Wakefield.	
E.Waller,	Northgate, Wakefield.	
W.Allerstone,	York.	1848 — 1860?
	(Allerstone purchased J.Lofthouse Kendrew's stock when he retired in 1848.)	
W.Alexander & Son,	Castlegate, York.	
M.W.Carroll,	Near Foss Bridge, York. Also at Walmgate, York.	
C.Croshaw,	Coppergate, York.	
Wm.Dalton,	Walmgate, York.	1848 — 1875
	(Dalton purchased the printed ballads and chapbooks left after Kendrew had sold to Allerstone. This stock must have been very large since he was still selling from it in 1875, the year of his death.)	
T.Deighton,	Shambles, York.	
W.Hick,	Stonegate, York.	
J.Johnson,	Goodramgate, York.	ca.1835 — 1850
J.Kendrew,	Colliergate, York.	1803 — 1841
J.L.Kendrew,	23, Colliergate, York.	1841 — 1848
L.Lund,	York. (Acted as additional printer for the John Kendrew shop.)	ca.1830
Wm. Storry,	York.	

Notes to chapter four.

1. University Library,Cambridge; Additional Mss. [illegible]
2. ibid. Mss. 2687, sheets 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, [illegible], 69, 70, 75, 76, 77, 78, and a great [illegible] from auction catalogues, not always easily [illegible]
3. It is noticeable that the songs one collects from [illegible] in Norfolk are remarkably consistent with Pitts' [illegible]. That may indicate the circulation of Pitts' stock in Norfolk, but it is also certain that his home county will have provided him with songs. His Effingham home lay in an area of Norfolk that yet remains a useful hunting ground for the collector, tyro or otherwise.
4. Shepard, Leslie. John Pitts (,) Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765 — 1844... London, 1969.
5. Kidson, Frank. "The Ballad Sheet And Garland." in Journal of the Folk-Song Society, No.7, Vol.2 — No.2, London, 1905. p.76.
6. See the works cited in the bibliography to this dissertation, by Hindley, Shepard, Collison, Davies and Jones.
7. University Library, Cambridge, MS. sheet 79 and 80, (a letter by Sir Frederick Madden to John Harkness.) answered by Harkness's parcel and accompanying note, MS.77.

Part II.

The transmission of ballads.

Chapter one: Temporising poets, trotting mercuries and bawding hawkers.

Literature from the mid-sixteenth century onwards is packed with fugitive references to the ballad trade and it would be presumptious to pretend that anything other than an informative sketch is given here. For the early period, roughly covering the so-called 'black-letter' phase, the article by Rollins[1] remains of central importance; to this might be added Ebworth's various notices though these are generally turgid and frequently misleading if not downright inaccurate.[2] Both Chappell[3] and more recently, Simpson,[4] are more to be trusted though their works are essentially aimed at supplying the musical survivals of balladry and such historical data as they contain must be teased from amongst the notes to the various tunes identified. What is intended here is essentially a chronological survey of criticism - mostly defamatory - of the ballad writer, seller and singer from about 1550 to the end of the nineteenth century.

It is evident that by 1550 the ballad trade

was enjoying a widespread popularity. In a translation of The true beliefe in Christ & his sacramentes,[5] the printer, Walter Lynne, added a preface in which he hoped that the work might be read by men, women and children in preference to "the fained stories of Robinhode, Clem of the Clough, with suche lyke to passe the tyme withal." A few years later Thomas Becon wrote An Invective Agaynst Whoredome and al other abhominacions of uncleanesse, in which he singles out ballads and those that sing for them for particular abuse;

> Down with bawdy balletes that rayne,
> Filthy love therwith to obtayne,
> Downe with all them that suche do fayne
> Let them al go downe a downe a.
>
> Down with those serving men that singe
> Bawdye balliettes therwith to bring
> Folish women to fleshly doting
> Let them al go downe a downe a. 6

Robert Copland the printer explains in 1568 how [illegible] of him for popular literature and even suggests that [illegible] enquirers may supply him with copy;

Quidam.

With have ye the takyng of the frenche [illegible]
Or what conceytes have ye of laughing
Have ye the balade called maugh murre
Or bony wenche, or else go from my durre
Col to me, or hey downe dery dery
Or a my hert, or I pray you be mery.

..... Hast thou a boke of the wydowe Edith
That hath beggyled so many with her wordes
Or els such a geest that is ful of bourdes
Let me se, I wyll yet waste a peny.....

..... Have ye not seene a prety geest in ryme
Of the seven sorrows that these women have
When that their husbands been brought to grave.

(The printer has not and suggests that he might print it if he had a copy.)

..... That is good, but have ye any copy
That a man myght inprynt it thereby
And whan I se it, than I wyll you tell.
If that the matter be ordred yll or well.

Quidam.

I have no boke, but yet I can you shewe
The matter by herte, and that by wordes fewe
Take your penne and wryte as I do say
But yet of one thyng, hertely I you praye
Amend the englysh somwhat if ye can.....7

There is some evidence for assuming that the burgeoning trade in ballads reached a pitch at some time around 1590. Martine par-Sixtus was printed in 1591 and is ostensibly an attack upon the late Pope, Sixtus V. The 'Epistle Dedicatorie' addressed to Edmund Bowyar contains a virulent attack upon the trade in cheap printed matter and those at the University of Cambridge responsible for composing it:

> We live in a printing age, wherein there is no man either so vainely, or factiously, or filthily disposed, but there are crept out of all sorts unauthorized authors, to fill and fit his humor, and if a mans devotion serve him not to goe to the Church of GOD, he needs butrepayre to a Stationers shop and reade a sermon of the divels: I loath to speake it, every red-nosed rimester is an author, every

> drunken mans dreame is a bo[illegible], [illegible] little wit is hardly worth a [illegible] him so outragiously, as if [illegible] his pen, in a word, scarce a [illegible] but out starts a halfpeny [illegible] new ballet of a strange [illegible] & yet they shame not to [illegible] In Artibus Magister; as if [illegible] of Art by the ragges and par-ings of wit, and endite the Universities, as not onely accessary to their vanitie, but nurses of bawdry; we would the world should know that how-soever those places have power to create a Master of Artes, yet the art of love is none of the seaven;.....[8]

Henry Chettle's well known pamphlet, King-Harts Dreame, was published early in 1593 and corroborates the inference of Martine Mar-Sixtus that ballad production is on the increase. Anthonie Now now's admonition to Mopo and Pickering, the 'Arch-overseers of the Ballad singers,' gives us much information of the trade practices of ballad singers and is particularly concerned with the pace at which the business is spreading into Essex and adjacent counties. Those who are joining this fraternity are "idle youths, loathing honest labour and dispising lawful trades," and they are to be found in every corner of the kingdom, "singing and selling of ballads and pamphletes full of ribaudrie, and all scurrilous vanity.... withdrawing people from christian exercises, especially at faires markets and such publike meetings."[9] He finds it incomprehensible that ballad singers should be free to follow their unsavoury calling whilst idle rogues are restrained, musicians without employment are treated in a like manner and both may be branded in the ear if taken into custody. He also throws an interesting light upon a problem that has puzzled some investigators. Very often printers would have an excess of apprentices and journeymen around them and since the trade was restricted one wonders what became of the surplus labour. Chettle tells us a stationer would trust his "old servantes of a two months standing with a dossen groates worth of ballads" after "bringing them uppe to singing brokerie." Should they prove capable hawkers then he promotes them to chapmen, "able to spread more pamphlets by the state forbidden then all the Booksellers in

London, for only in this Citie is straight [illegible] suspition, especially of such petty pedlars."[10]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centu[illegible] very many ballad writers but a group of half a d[illegible] the remainder and seem to have formed the same t[illegible] the printers evolved. T[illegible] earliest man of conse[illegible] Churchyard, a prolific writer who published betwe[illegible] had been a page to Henry, earl of Surrey, a soldi[illegible] as a hanger-on at court. The majority of the ballads he wrote were either autobiographical or else notices of current events. One ballad that achieved lasting fame was Shore's Wife but apart from this, little he wrote is of consequence. A collection of verse that he issued as Churchyardes Chippes enjoyed a short notoriety and during his life he entertained the public with the flytings he became embroiled in, notably with Cæsell. Eight broadside ballads of his composition are extant.

A contemporary of Churchyard and the most famous of the sixteenth century ballad writers was William Elderton. Hyder E. Rollins has written an exhaustive study of Elderton and his works[11] to which little can be added. He wrote only ballads which may account for his obscurity, and the majority of these are journalistic. He allowed little of note to pass without celebrating it in his trotting rythmes and though his output must have been enormous, very little has survived. His fame rests principally upon a physical feature that has nothing to do with literature or balladry. Fulwood was the first to point out his 'pale-bloom nose' and Rollins traced the following jibe:

> To make a hose is no suche shame,
> to Leache in his degree:
> As is your nose a glorious fame,
> uppon your face to see.
>
> But heere I must ful sore lament,
> the counsel you still geve:
> To your vile Jone, not to repent,
> but beastly still to live. 12.

.Elderton had unwisely ridiculed Leach's [illegible] Fulwood charged that Elderton was living in sin [illegible] Jone. Curiously there is still widely sung in England a ballad that was first printed in 1594 called Jones Ale is New. [illegible] and concerns the treatment handed out to the [illegible] It has never been suggested that Elderton wrote it but in that meaning that at this period 'ale' had a euphemistic usage signifying a sexual encounter as in Watkin's Ale;[13] it is just possible that this ballad was written after Elderton's death.

Only twelve of Elderton's ballads are extant and none are related to folksongs. Yorke, Yorke, for my monie is perhaps the most frequently reprinted.[14] Rollins also ascribes Mary Ambree to Elderton though his reasons for doing so are obscure. Including the questionable ascriptions, a few that survive in manuscript and in other mens' work and twelve non-extant entries into the Stationers' Registers, it is possible to lift the corpus to thirty-five ballads; an absurdly small output for thirty-one years work.

Thomas Deloney is, thanks to F.O. Mann's edition of his works,[15] too well known to require much notice here. A prolific ballad writer, eighty of his productions survive from a working life of around fifteen years. This contrasts markedly with Elderton, especially when it is remembered that Deloney also wrote four novels of importance. His working life extended from 1583 or thereabouts to 1600 and thus he can be seen to have taken over the role of pre-eminent ballad-maker that Elderton vacated. Many of his ballads were issued continuously into the late eighteenth century on broadsides, particularly those historical pieces in The Garland of Good Will and The Lamentation of Mr. Page's Ape of Plymouth. Two folksongs attributed to him are questionably his compositions; The Fair Flower of Northumberland is contained in The Pleasant History of Jacke of Newberie and may well have been taken from tradition at that time. J.H.

Dixon[16] ascribes The Blind Beggar of Bednall Green to Deloney but gives no reason for doing so. It is unlikely that this [illegible] to Deloney since we know it first from an entry of 1[illegible], some years after Deloney's death.

Following the death of Deloney, no one person dominated the trade for at least twenty-five years and though it is probable that Laurence Price and Richard Johnson kept the printers busy, virtually nothing of their ballad output survives. There were very many authors of more ephemera that celebrated for instance, the death of the latest murderer at the gibbet, "to the Tune of Fortune my Foe." After 1625, three 'pot-poets' re-invigorated the trade; Laurence Price, Richard Climsell and Martin Parker. Of these, Parker is justly the most famous. Throughout a long career he consistently provided the printers with a stream of ballads, prose chapbooks of historical and legendary romances and maybe, journalistic pieces for the first real newspapers issued after 1638. We have at least fifty extant broadsides of ballads written by him before 1640 and all are of a quality far removed from the general run of ballad writers of his time or earlier. A talented poet, he descended little upon writing ephemeral notices of current affairs and was responsible for many of the new additions to the Ballad Partners stock. Rollins has sketched his career in some detail[17] and the many references he supplies leave one in little doubt of the high regard Parker was held in by his contemporaries. Like Deloney he was a renowned quaffer of ale and thus the tradition of the ale-blown-pot-poet was perpetuated. After his death in 1656 no one really replaced him unless we allow Thomas Lanfiere that distinction.[18] Despite this long and deserved popularity, Parker has left little trace in the folksong repertoire and Rollins' assertion[19] that his ballads were kept alive by the printers of Seven Dials in the nineteenth century is puzzlingly inaccurate. Parker's compatriots, Price and Climsell, did make a mark

upon the folksong repertoire. Amongst Price's [illegible] popular folksongs, Rocke the Cradle, John; [illegible] and Robin Hood's Golden Prize. Climsell was [illegible] A comparison of the life of man, a version of [illegible] man and The Politick Maid.

Dramatic references to the ballad trade are [illegible] dozens of plays of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. The two most famous are the long scenes in The Winter's Tale[20] and [illegible]'s Bartholomew Fair.[21] Both indicate the type of customer sought by the hawkers and the latter play suggests a more unsavoury aspect of the trade when the pick-pocket is at work amongst the throng of prospective buyers. In later years, John Gay was to point out that this petty thieving continued to be a danger to ballad singer's customers;

> Let not the ballad-singer's shrilling strain
> Amid the swarm thy list'nin ear detain:
> Guard well thy pocket; for these Sirens stand,
> To aid the labours of the diving hand;
> Confed'rate in the cheat, they draw the throng,
> And cambric handkerchiefs reward the song;[22]

A more austere customer than is portrayed in the majority of early graphic accounts of the ballad-singer's audience was Sir William Cornwallis. He unrepentantly admits to having derived great benefit from reading in his early years, chapbook romances, ballads and histories. He further states that in this way he was better prepared to appreciate Tacitus, Plutarch and Sallust. With a broadness of humour absent in most of his essays he tells us to what use he puts the ballad-sheet;

> All kinde of bookes are profitable except printed Bawdery; they abuse youth. But Pamphlets and Lying Stories and Jests and twoo penny Posts, I would have them but beware of beeing familiar with them. My custome is to read these and presently to make use of them. For they lie in my privy;[23]

Less tolerant of the ballads and in general more consistent with the opinion of other literary figures is John Davies in his satire, Papers Complaint,

compild in ruthfull Rimes Against the Paper-[illegible]

mercilessly attacks the ballad writer and [illegible]

In the following lines directed at 'ballad-[illegible]' [illegible]

at Thomas Churchyard;

> Yea Ballet-mongers, make my sheetes to groane,
> To beare Rimes-doggrell making Dog [illegible],
> Whereto (ay me) grosse Burthens still [illegible],
> And to that put againe, light Notes and [illegible],
> O man in desperation, what a dewce
> Meanst thou such filth in my white face to gilder,
> One raies me with course Rimes, and Chips them [illegible],
> Offals of wit, a fire burne them all. 24.

When Abraham Holland extended this satire in its second edition of 1625, he continued the attack upon the ballad and those persons in the countryside who purchased them and stuck them above their fire-places. He suggests that the crude illustrations were a major factor in their popularity and regrets that the customers had not the wit to see the superiority of a map-sheet by Mercator or a wood-cut by Durer. In addition Holland tells us where the main market-place for ballads was, St. Paul's Cathedral;

> It is no wonder
> That Pauls so often hath been strucke with Thunder:
> T'was aimed at these Shops, in which there lie
> Such a confused World of Trumpery.
> Those Titles each Terme on the Posts are rear'd,
> In such abundance, it is to be fear'd
> That they in time, if thus they goe on, will
> Not only Little but Great Britaine fill,
> With their infectious Swarmes; 25

St. Paul's church-yard remained a centre for broadside ballad distribution throughout the next two centuries. An embittered citizen wrote to the Lord Mayor of London on March 23, 1775;

> I take the liberty therefore of mentioning a nuisance which I am persuaded you will speedily order to be removed. There are seldom less than five ballad singers at different stands every evening in St. Paul's church-yard. These idle persons draw a crowd of loose and disorderly people about them, and are a great distraction to people, whose business obliges them to pass that way; who also run no little hazard of having their pockets picked and are frequently insulted and abused. 26

Four character sketches of the ballad maker in the early seventeenth century survive and all are of a piece. John Earle's "Poet-Poet" is a thinly

disguised squib aimed at Elderton's [illegible]

> His verses run like the Tap, and his [illegible] as the Barrell, ebs and flowes at the [illegible] of the spiggot. In thin drinke hee [illegible] a Ballad, but a cup of Sacke inflames his Muse and Nose a fire together.

Earle tells us that his single sheets are ch[illegible] and sell for "scarace three halfe pence," whilst the poore Country wench, "melts like butter to heare them."

More information concerning the financial side of business is given in Cures For The Itch by H.P.[28] The first character in this pamphlet is the ballad-maker, "a kinde of Owle or Batt that flyeth in the night." We are told that for ballads composed upon the theme of a murder or robbery, the poet would receive forty pence and the public would be charged a penny. This agrees with Massinger, who in The Bondman (Act v,sc.iii) suggests "ten groat rimers" and Henslowe, who in 1597 paid six shillings and eight-pence for two jigs, i.e. ten groats each. Six years after Cures For The Itch was printed, Richard Brathwait published his Whymsies in which the ballad-monger is said to hope that he may emulate Deloney's ballads in the Garland of Good Will. He also indicates that Christmas carols are an important part of his trade. The principal customers in London having been satisfied, then the sellers depart for the provinces;

> ...stale Ballad-newes, like stale fish, when it beginnes to smell of the Parver, are not for queasie stomacks. You must therefore imagine, that by this time they are cashier'd the Citie, and must now ride poast for the Countrey:... till at last they grow so common there too, as every poore Milk maid can chant and chirpe it under her Cow; which she useth as an harmless charme to make her let downe her milke. 29

A Royalist pamphlet printed by Henry Brome at the Hand in Pauls Church-yard in 1657 and called Two essays of Love and Marriage is yet another character book to include the ballad-maker. Brome's pamphlet makes it clear that the ballad author, though suffering from sanctions, is yet able to make a living by writing epitaphs and "Libels into Metre" for "The Brethren". It seems as though they also continued to compose news-ballads, particularly dealing with executions;

> He is a second Charon; for no[illegible] way of Tiburn, but he receives [illegible] .... He like[illegible] the Emblematists, is [illegible] but only his wood carver hath certain [illegible] and a woman serve like Panpharmacus, [illegible] is a dutiful Son of the Church, [illegible] Musicks; but they go like Rookins and [illegible] of the same. 30

The anonymous author of The Downefall of Temporizing [illegible] contemptuous dismissal of the ballad-writer but in a [illegible] vein. Nevertheless he cynically observes that "rather than you will lose halfe a crowne, you will write against your owne Fathers. You will make mens wills before they be sicke and hang them before they are in prison."[31] The real value of this pamphlet is its information regarding the numbers of ballad poets, hawkers and singers residing in London in 1641. How accurate the details are is impossible to verify but they appear sensible when we compare them with Mayhew's figures for the mid-nineteenth century. There were, we are told, twenty-four poets besides Martin Parker, forty travelling hawkers and two hundred and seventy-seven ballad singers.

There is no reason to believe that conditions altered very significantly during the next sixty years or so and certainly Andrew Fletcher's comments appear to reiterate all that has gone before. The words of Fletcher of Saltoun on the subject of ballads have been so mis-represented for such a length of time and by so many people who should have known better that a full quotation is needed here. Almost every writer has repeated the legend that Fletcher was so impressed with the common ballad that he had once suggested that he would rather have written the ballads of the nation than its Laws. An examination of the original soon dispels this myth:

> Even the poorer sort of both sexes are daily tempted to all manner of lewdness by infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets. One would think, said the Earl, this last were of no great consequence. I said, I knew a very wise man so much of Sir Christopher's sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation. And we find, that most of the ancient legislators thought they could not well reform the manners of

> any city without the help of a lyric, and [illegible] dramatic poet. But in this city the dramatic poet is less than the ballad-maker has been almost wholly employed to corrupt the people; in which they have had almost unparalleled and deplorable success. 32.

What is at issue here is not the fine quality of extant ballad-art but the insidious influence of corrupt ballads which had plumbed the depths at the turn of the seventeenth/eighteenth centuries.[33] This concern with the morally enfeebling influence of the street-ballad was very much in the mind of a contributor to The Gentlemen's Magazine in February, 1735. He was concerned that some form of restriction similar to the Stamp Act should apply also to the ballad and that ballad singers should be classed as vagrants in the eyes of the Law. What really caused him the most distress was that "our middling Gentry" were being remiss in allowing their daughters to become too familiar with their servants who were then introducing the innocent young girls to ballads of dubious morality; "By such foolish stories Miss is deluded; sighs, pities, and at last loves; and so too often undone without remedy."[34] A letter written to The London Magazine in November, 1769, repeats the same message. Without knowing how to explain it, the writer observes that almost any sentiment set to a pleasing tune insinuates itself insensibly and takes possession of the affections. He is an early mis-quoter of Fletcher, saying that a Frenchman used to say that if he was allowed to write the ballads he would have no problem in governing the people. A more positive though impractical suggestion made is that the State should employ ballad-singers to distribute songs of "a proper tendency" and thus "we might have the discontented and turbulent populace sung into quietness and good humour as froward children are by their nurses."[35]

In Appleby's Journal of October 13, 1722, Daniel Defoe writing under the pseudonym "Jeffrey Sing-Song" wrote a long and humorous satire bemoaning the decay of ballad-making;

> But now, alas! We not only have no [illegible], [illegible] are in great Danger of losing that useful [illegible] the Manufacture itself; and, I hear, [illegible] in that kind of Goods has been taken up [illegible] done in his Way, a little out of the way, [illegible]

In 1722, it will be remembered that Gent, [illegible] were taken into custody for printing a ballad defaming the Bishop of Rochester.

The coverage of England by chapmen was so highly organized that by 1625, itineraries were being printed specifically to aid them in planning the most effective routes. A Cambridge printed itinerary of 1625[37] is partially extant and lists the fairs of England and Wales with their dates. John Taylor, the 'Water-Poet' issued a "carriers cosmographie" in 1637,[38] listing all the inns of London and the dates when carriers and chapmen to different destinations around the country could be contacted at these inns. By the end of the century, regular Chapmans and Travellers Almanacks[39] were issued which gave full details of the post-roads; the marts, fairs and markets; the distances between them and the days on which they took place. In addition to such aids, the eighteenth century newspapers frequently detailed lists of chapmens routes as has been shown in the previous chapter. A single folio sheet issued by Farley in Bristol in 1735 details one hundred and seven routes out of Bristol, weekly, and servicing the south-west of England and a few places further afield.[40] It lists a total of one hundred and sixty-two towns and villages thus regularly serviced by travelling traders. Another aid was the pocket-sized road-book that was issued by Ogilvie and Morgan[41] from the late seventeenth century until almost a hundred years later. This annual publication gave details of routes from town to town with mileages shown from each major village to the next en-route. Towards the end of the eighteenth century its place was taken by Paterson's series of road-books and these were kept in print well into the nineteenth century. Both types of road-book gave full lists of moveable and fixed fairs and markets so that it was possible for a chapman to work out an itinerary that included the maximum number of large

markets without excessive travelling between them.

Of the individual chapman we know very little except for a number of 'autobiographical' accounts that have survived. Among the most famous hawkers involved in ballad selling were Dougal Graham, William Cameron, Robert Urquart and Charles Leslie. Graham was the most prolific of Glasgow and he gained a considerable reputation in Scotland for his amusing prose chapbooks, including what is thought to be an autobiographical piece, The History of John Cheap the Chapman.[42] Cameron's book Wandie, the Life of a Gangrel, is noteworthy only for its picture of the seamier sides of lodging house practice in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century and details of the tricks he employed to sell worthless pamphlets or old newspapers to an unsuspecting and gullible public. Robert Urquart[44] and James Rankin[45] both worked in the north-east of Scotland and the latter is known principally for his contributions to Peter Buchan's collectanea of ballads and songs. Charles Leslie, known as "Mussle-mou'd Charlie" to Sir Walter Scott and James Maidment, was a minstrel who travelled throughout lowland Scotland, singing and selling ballads. A collection of his songs was edited by Maidment and issued in an extremely limited edition of sixty copies in 1827.[46] Famed throughout the nation, Leslie danced and sang his way through the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, succumbing to old age at Oldrain in Aberdeenshire in October, 1792, aged one hundred and five. He is said to have followed his occupation till within a few weeks of his death.

Chapmen in England have left few records of their activities. The most famous appear to be David Love, 'General' Mayor and Peter Conroy of Nottingham, John Freeth of Birmingham and an itinerant Irishman, John Magee. Love issued his autobiography in penny parts in 1825,[47] two years before his death. Like Mayo and Conroy,[48] he was essentially a local ballad and chapbook seller who rarely moved far from Nottingham. John Freeth of Birmingham was above all a political song-writer. He travelled widely throughout the south-midlands and west-country singing and selling

his own compositions which were printed for him by the [illegible] ballad-houses. He collected his songs together and [illegible] Songster, Or, A Touch on the Times went through at least [illegible] before 1800. The subscribers list attached to the [illegible] 1790[49] indicates that Freeth had a wide reputation among all classes of society, including among the names, the Duke of Norfolk, [illegible], the earls of Harborough and Exeter, many serving officers in the army, parsons, lawyers and book sellers. Most noteworthy amongst the songs in this edition are the group of ballads which explicitly support the American colonists cause in the War of Independance. By 1790, his career was over as he explains;

> ...the old and favourite trade of ballad-making is almost over with me. A complaint in my head, to which I am daily subject, prevents me pursuing that business in the manner I have hitherto done; [50]

Evidently the business was a profitable one for his preface tells us;

> '...when good News is brought to town,
> Immediately to work sits down,
> And business fairly to go through,
> Writes SONGS, finds TUNES, and SINGS them too.
>
> A first-rate songster often gains
> Both wealth and fame, with little pains;
> Two annual songs, a century back,
> Were rated at a butt of sack;
> Which service now brings in a clear,
> And neat Two Hundred Pounds a year: [51]

The Irishman; Magee, was an ex-soldier who had served many years in the volunteer corps in Ireland. At some time about 1800 he had forsaken this life for the career of travelling chapman and the tone of his Account of the Travels of John Magee[52] makes it clear that he had been influenced greatly by the tracts issued from the Cheap Repository and by the new Religious Tract Society. Whilst these formed a large part of his stock-in-trade, he was under no illusions that the labouring classes wanted this thinly disguised evangelising literature;

> As I carry with me in my travels a [illegible]
> and sermons for sale, when I enter any [illegible]
> articles, the common salutation I get is, [illegible]
> books; for we have more good books than we [illegible]
> Others cry, we cannot read, we would [illegible]
> to eat and to drink...Some would call for [illegible]
> or political pamphlets; so very different [illegible]

Magee's travels in 1806 and 1808 are detailed and it is clear that much of his trade consisted of buying street literature in one town and attempting to sell it before he reached the next major printing centre. Thus in 1806 he set out from Paisley, crossed the border country and followed the east coast down to Newcastle. From Newcastle he journeyed to Hull and thence through Lincolnshire and the Fens to London. In London he took a trading vessel to Newcastle and travelled across to Carlisle, ending again at Paisley. In 1808 his route was through the lowlands of Scotland to Aberdeen and Inverness then back to Paisley. He then followed the southern route again and so he continued, alternating the two journeys.

During the nineteenth century, criticism of the ballad trade was less abusive and more reasoned than at any time before. One of the few 'character' sketches in the old style came from the pen of Thomas Hood. When it was published in the London Journal, of which he was a sub-editor in the 1820's, the article was shortened, possibly by the omission in error, of the second sheet of his manuscript. This manuscript survives amongst the miscellaneous group of jotting assembled by Sir Frederick Madden in 1839 and is given here in full.

A Ballad Singer

> Is a town-crier for the advertising of lone tunes. Hunger hath made him a wind instrument: his want is vocal, & not he. His voice had gone a-begging before he took it up & applied it to the same trade; it was too strong to hawk mackerel, but was just enough for Robin Adair. His business is to make popular songs unpopular, - he gives the air, like a weathercock, with many variations. As for a key, he has but one, a latch-key, for all manner of tunes; and as they are to pass current amongst the lower sorts of people, he makes his notes like a country banker's, as thick as he can. His tones have a copper sound, for he sounds for copper, and for the musical divisions he hath no regard, but

sings on, like a kettle, without taking any [illegible] bars. Before beginning, he clears his pipe [illegible] he is always hoarse from the thorough draft [illegible] He has but one shake, & that is in winter. His [illegible] flat, from flatulency & he fetches breath like a [illegible] kitten, whenever he can. Notwithstanding all [illegible] gains ground, for it walks with him from one [illegible] the street.

This your only performer that requires not [illegible] for a song; for he will chaunt, without asking, [illegible] cur, or a parish post. His only back archness is to [illegible] after dinner, seeing that he never dines; for he sings for bread, & though corn has ears, sings very coarsely in vain. As for his country, he's an Englishman, that by birth-right may sing whether he can or not. To conclude, he is reckoned passable in the city, but is not so good off the stones. 54

A contributor to Fraser's Magazine in 1839 more acutely viewed street literature, particularly balladry, and he found much in it to suggest that the lower orders had a greater awareness of, and involvement with the rest of society, than was indicated by the falsity of remarks made by those fashionable authors of more esoteric literature, Lytton and Dickens. He suggested that a reader anxious to obtain a picture of London low-life could do no better than to read a cross-sample of ballad sheets, or better still, he could visit the districts themselves. In this way he suggests that readers would be saved from giving credence to the "ingenious inconsistencies" of Bulwer Lytton and the startling, pleasing, but nevertheless inconsistent caricatures of Charles Dickens. He is sure that Dickens's descriptions of the seamier localities of London in no way resemble reality and that Lytton, from the descriptions of low-life in Pelham and Paul Clifford, has as much knowledge of common people as he does of German metaphysics:

> As, indeed, how should he know? He never had half an hour's conversation with the thieves, cut-throats, old-clothesmen, prostitutes, or pickpockets, described; nor can the admirable Boz be expected to have had any such experience. 55.

He feels that the vogue with representing these quaintly absurd fictions in modern writing is due to a dulling of senses and a desire for anything new. The new audience was willing to pass them off simply as truth and had

entered into an unspoken convention that they should be [illegible]

the place of reality.

> We are sick of heroic griefs, passions, [illegible] take them out of the palace, and place them [illegible] boozing ken - be prodigal of irony, of slang, and bad grammar - leave out the h's, double the v's, [illegible] (as may be necessary), and tragedy becomes intelligible once more. 56

To soften the criticism of fellow writers, he becomes facile and excuses Dickens, Ainsworth and Lytton on the grounds that after all it is only ignorance of a subject where knowledge is not very desirable. He then points out that Fielding had experience and with humour and perception could view and write about such characters. Returning to the theme of ballads he points out that readers of Fraser's Magazine may not read them, nor the twelve thousand names registered in the Court Guide, but nevertheless, where Fraser sells to thousands, Catnach sells to hundreds of thousands and his ballads reflect his readers' tastes and their manners. They have, he says, their own society, manners, amusements, intrigues, crimes, follies and fashions, just as their betters have.

A writer in the English Journal of Education in 1851 pursues this latter idea and suggests that the welfare of ordinary people is intimately connected with their street literature and they become influenced by their ballads to an extent that the casual observer would not credit.[57] Certainly this opinion would be in accord with the evidence of recent folksong collectors who have become more concerned with the context of performance than with the songs alone. A gypsy recently recorded the ballad of Edward which deals with the theme of fratricide. When discussing the song later he was emphatic that the ballad was a morality which taught the lesson in Genesis of Cain and Abel and this was why it was still sung within his society. Similarly, the Rev. Baring Gould was regaled by one old countryman with a bawdy song concerning adultery and the treatment

handed out to the male transgressor. [illegible] did not note down, the singer said, "Now what [illegible] modern songs is, there's neither sense nor [illegible] songs — it does any one gude to hear 'em. I mean, [illegible] their morals."[58]

When Charles Manby Smith surveyed the Seven Dials area in 1867, he was careful to point out that the region was a part of London that the Irish had long held possession of and that this was reflected in the songs issued by printers. He too saw the effect of ballads acting upon the social mores of those who used them and suggested the major themes utilised by the writers;

> ...questions of morals and religion, of teetotalism, of sabbatarianism, of patriotism and legislation, and is diffuse and humanely indignant on the matter of wife beating. 59

A list which would fairly describe the popular press of today.

On the subject of ballad writers he explains that the usual fee for a new song is one shilling though this may be enhanced to eighteen pence if the song is "particular spicey." The progress of a song in print is interestingly traced. It starts life as a quarto slip and if it proves particularly popular is advanced onto a long-sheet. If the song remains a favourite then its final accolade is to be included in a song-book along with twenty or thirty otherwise unsaleable pieces. Another feature of the trade in the 1860's was the increasingly widespread readership of newspapers which Smith suggests led to a decline in ballad writing and an increasing involvement by the old ballad users with music halls. This latter influence changed the nature of the songs which became more pathetic and comical. Old favorites like William and his Dinah or Bold William Taylor became the comic songs Villikins and his Dinah and Billy Taylor. Romantic ballads like Lord Bateman were cheapened, perhaps in this case by Dickens and Thackeray with George Cruikshank's assistance.

When the Quarterly Review stepped down from its lofty perch in 1867 to review a selection of street ballads, the reviewer was at pains to

point out that balladry in earlier times had been [illegible] and praise-worthy form. He saw in the polarization [illegible] of mores which inevitably estranged ballads from all but the lower orders of society. The result was a debilitated standard [illegible] ballads which he found humiliating. Yet he found [illegible]:

> Taken as a whole, the moral tone of the Ballads, if not lofty, is certainly not bad; and the number of [illegible] stanzas that could not be quoted in these pages on account of their gross or indecent language is very small; and a ban of entire Ballads to be excluded on the same ground, is still smaller. ...For open indecency and grosser pruriency we must go to a class of songs and song;books, authors and customers, of a higher class;...60

When Henry Mayhew surveyed London in the middle of the nineteenth century he spent a considerable time investigating all aspects of the production and selling of street literature. His one hundred and ten page survey[61] remains the most comprehensive and trustworthy account we have of the ballad trade though it says little of consequence concerning the printers that is not better surveyed in the works of Charles Hindley[62] or later, Leslie Shepard.[63] Perhaps its greatest value is the wealth of statistics which tell us not only the number of persons actively involved in selling but the financial returns obtained from the capital ~~they~~ outlaid. Thus we can determine that a total of three hundred and sixty-eight persons sold songs and patters in the streets of London and they had a total capital outlay of thirty-one pounds, five and four-pence. They could expect to gross ten-thousand, one hundred pounds in a full year, indicating an average weekly income, exclusive of capital, of approximately eleven shillings.

In 1864, Michael T. Bass, M.P. commenced a crusade against the street musicians. One feels sure his main targets were the organ grinders and street bands but even the solo ballad chaunter came in for his vehement criticism. He sought to have a law passed through Parliament to ban all street performers and to aid him he involved as many influential

persons as possible in petitioning for the proposed statute, [illegible] same year he published the results of his activities, in [illegible] the letters submitted to support his case.[64] Though he [illegible] Parliament, he did succeed in having a metropolitan order [illegible] banned all street music in the capital of London. Among the most influential of his supporters was Charles Dickens, who wrote:

> Your undersigned correspondents are desirous to offer you their hearty thanks for your introduction into the House of Commons of a Bill for the Suppression of Street Music;....
>
> Your correspondents are, all, professors and practitioners of one or other of the arts or sciences....they are daily interrupted, harassed, worried, wearied, driven nearly mad by street musicians.
>
> Your correspondents represent to you that these pecuniary speculations in the misery they endure are far more destructive to their spirits than their pockets; and that some of them, not absolutely tied to London by their avocations, have actually fled into the country for refuge from this unmerited persecution -- which is none the less grievous or hard to bear, because it is absurd.....
>
> (signed) CHARLES DICKENS. [65]

A list of names then follows and includes: Alfred Tennyson, John Everett Millais, John Forster, John Leech, W. Holman Hunt, Wilkie Collins, T. Carlyle, Francis Grant and J.R. Herbert. It must be said in mitigation of this letter that all the signatories had apparently been subjected to particular attention by street performers when the latter discovered how much value the artists put upon peace and quiet.

An article in The Family Friend of July, 1884, testifies to the decline of street music in London and elsewhere and remarks that this class of entertainment is now only seen in practice at high days and holidays.

The ballad printing trade was in decline after 1865 in London and for the next forty years it continued as a shadow of the business it was in the heyday of Pitts and Catnach. Remarkably, today we still have in England one or two producers of ballad sheets and they also double up as their own ballad-singers and sellers.[66] Their chief customers attend

the weekly folksong clubs that have proliferated in the past [illegible] years to the extent that there is scarcely a town or city in the country that does not have at least one such club meeting in a pub [illegible] once a week to sing and to hear sung those songs and ballads [illegible] first touted around the streets of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It says much for the vitality (if not the quality) of the old ballads that they can still be enthusiastically received by audiences three or four hundred years after their compositions. Martin Parker, Thomas Deloney and William Elderton are still heard, [illegible] and unwittingly, just off the streets of London.

Notes

1. Rollins, Hyder E., "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad" PMLA Vol. XXXIV, (1919), U.S.A.

2. Ebworth's notes are scattered throughout the various volumes of the Ballad Society's publications, Roxburgh Ballads and Bagford Ballads. In addition there are extensive notes in his edition of The Westminster Drollery; Merry Drollery and Choice New Songs. See Bibliography.

3. Chappell edited the initial three volumes of Roxburgh Ballads for the Ballad Society. He also produced the Popular Music of the Olden Time which with its chronological survey is more convenient though perhaps a little less reliable than Simpson.

4. Simpson, Claude M. The British Broadside Ballad and its Music, New Jersey, 1966.

5. STC 14576, sig. Aii^{b}

6. STC 1710. "An Invective Agaynst whoredome and al other Abhominations of uncleanesse. A worke most necessary for thys present time, Compiled by Thomas Becon. (ca. 1560?)

7. From Percy Simpson's Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. London, 1935. Appendix II, pp.224-5. He quotes STC 5734.

8. STC 24913. Sig. $A3^{b}$ - $A4^{a}$.

9. Chettle, Henry. Kind-Hartes Dreame, London. 1592. From the edition of G.B. Harrison, London, 1923, p.15.

10. ibid. p.19.

11. Rollins, Hyder E. "William Elderton: Elizabethen Actor and Ballad Writer". in Studies in Philology, XVII (1920), pp. 199-245.

12. ibid. p.214.

13. A Ditty delightful of mother Watkin's ale was reprinted from a unique broadside by Lilly in A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides....London, 1867, pp.251-254. Another variant, possibly the original ballad, is contained in Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet, 185, 14.

14. Reprinted in Joseph Ritson's Northern Garlands, Hallwell's The Yorkshire Anthology and Ingledew's The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire.

15. Mann, F.O. ed., The Works of Thomas Deloney, Oxford, 1912.

16. ibid. p.504.

17. Rollins, Hyder E. "Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger." In Modern Philology, XVI (1919), pp.113-138.

18. Thomas Lanfiere of Watchet in Somerset sent ballads to the London printers in the 1670-1675 period. A handful [illegible] on them but they were particularly popular in the various editions show. One of his ballads eventually became the [illegible] folk-song, The Wild Rover. Various notices of Lanfiere are dotted through Ebsworth's edition of Bagford Ballads.

19. Rollins, "Martin Parker", p.130.

20. The Winter's Tale, Act IV, scenes 2 and 3.

21. Bartholomew Fair, Act III, sc.5.

22. Underhill's edition of The Works of John Gay, vol. I, p.152. Quoting from "Trivia", book III.

23. Essayes By Sir William Cornwallis, the Younger. Ed. Don Cameron Allen, Baltimore, 1946. p.50.

24. "Papers Complaint...." from The Scourge of Folly by John Davies. Grosart's edition of The Works of John Davies, vol.II, p.76, U.15-22.

25. ibid. p.80, ll. 9-17.

26. MS notebook of letters to persons in State Office, the editor of the London Daily Advertiser and the King. Formerly in the possession of the reformer William Carpenter, this notebook is now in the possession of the present writer. It covers the period September 28, 1774, to July 31, 1775.

27. Earle, John. Micro-cosmographie. edited by Edward Arber, London, 1868, p.45.

28. Cures for the Itch. by H.P., London, 1626. Ascribed to Henry Parrot. STC 19328.

29. Richard Brathwait. Whymsies....London, 1631, p.12. STC 3591.

30. Anon. Two Essays of Love and Marriage. London, 1657, p.90.

31. Anon. The Downefall of Temporizing Poets...(London), 1641. Sig.A3^{b}.

32. The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher, Esq of Saltoun. Glasgow, 1749. p.2666 (from An Account of a Conversation....Edinburgh, 1703).

33. A typical cross-section of ballads illustrating the decadence of the form is contained in D'Urfey's various editions of Pills to Purge Melancholy. Songs are no longer bawdy as in the Elizabethan period, but obscene. They have replaced the belly laugh with a snigger behind the hand.

34. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1735, p.93.

35. The London Magazine, 1769, pp.580-81.

36. Daniel Defoe: Life and recently Discovered Writings: 1716-1729. Ed. W. Lee, 3 vols. 1869. Vol.II 57-60. "The Ballad-maker's Plea". in Appleby's Journal, October 13, 1722.

37. Lacks title page and Sigs. A and B. "Cambridge, Printed [illegible] Legge, MDCXXV." is the colophon. The remains of [illegible] fairs of 1625, alphabetically from "Lecester, [illegible] 29. Decem. 8." to "Ystrameyricke, June 21". STC 106.

38. John Taylor, The Carriars cosmographie;.....London, 1637. STC 23760.

39. The City and Country Chapman's Almanack, The Travellers and Chapman's Daily Instructor and The Chapman's and Traveller's Almanack were annual publications from ca.1684-1710.

40. "A List of the CARRIERS that come into, and set out from the City of Bristol, with the DAYS they keep, the PLACES they come from, and the INNS they put up at." Published with Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, August 17, 1754.

41. Ogilby's and Morgan's Pocket-Book of the ROADS,...went through many editions; all now rare. They appear to have been most frequently printed in the period 1730-1750. The ninth edition was issued in 1741 and within two years the eleventh edition was in print.

42. "John Cheap The Chapman" in The Collected Writings of Dugald Graham, edited, with notes, by G. MacGregor, Glasgow 1883. 2 vols. Limited to 250 copies for subscribers.

43. Strathesk, John. Hawkie: The Autobiography of a Gamrel, Glasgow, 1888.

44. Anon. Notes and Sketches illustrative of northern rural life in the eighteenth-century, 1877, p.158.

45. A description of Rankin was given to Gavin Greig by the singer Miss Bell Robertson who recollected her parents' account of him. See Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs, Aberdeen, The Buchan Club, 1925. pp.279-80.

46. (James Maidment), The Ballad Book, Edinburgh, 1828.

47. Love, David. The Life, Adventures and Experience of David Love. Nottingham, 1825.

48. Cropper, Percy J. The Nottinghamshire Printed Chap-Books with Notices of their Printers and Vendors. Nottingham, 1892. pp.5-8.

49. Freeth, John. The Political Songster....Birmingham, Printed for Thomas Pearson, FOR THE AUTHOR, MDCCXC.

50. ibid. p.vi.

51. ibid. p.xv.

52. Some Account of The Travels of John Magee, Pedlar and Flying Stationer,....Paisley, 1826.

53. ibid. p.18.

54. University Library, Cambridge Add.Mss.2688 f.69.

55. "Horace Catnachianae" in Fraser's Magazine, April, 1839, p.407.

56. ibid. p.408.

57. "Extracts from the Private Diary of the [illegible] School". in English Journal of Education, [illegible].

58. Baring-Gould, S. English Minstrelsie, vol.VII, [illegible] on English Folk-Music, p.xii.

59. Smith, Charles Manby, The Little World of London, [illegible], p.253.

60. Quarterly Review, 1867, p.405.

61. Mayhew, Henry. London Labour and the London Poor. 4 Vol. London. 1861-62. Vol.I. pp.213-323 deals with the [illegible] of stationery and street literature.

62. Charles Hindley's Life and Times of James Catnach and The History of the Cathach Press are his two most notable works in this field of study.

63. Shepard has written three works; The Broadside Ballad, John Pitts-Ballad Printer and The History of Street Literature. See bibliography.

64. Bass, M.P., Michael T. Street Music in Metropolis. London, 1864.

65. ibid. pp.41-42.

66. The two most notable present day vendors are John Foreman, The Broadside King and Keith Roberts of Wigan.

Chapter Two: Chevy Chase in literature and tradition

It is usual to view traditional, or folk-balladry as an oral culture, thus distinguishing it from literature which depends upon transmission in print. Such a distinction should not be considered as merely a difference in the mode of transmission, for implicit here are two fundamental principles. Literature is a prescribed culture; in other words the textual form is fixed according to the dictates of the author and subsequently, the sanctions of literary critics and scholars. It might be added that these latter influences or sanctions are applied whether or not the author is known, for anonymity is not the prerogative of folk culture. Folk culture differs in that it exists only as a descriptive culture. Whilst it may retain internal stylistic or thematic features, an individual ballad has no fixed textual form, thus we do not sanction a folksong by textual scholarship or criticism, though in exceptional circumstances a collection like Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry may have become literature, outside of tradition, merely because it stimulated a group of writers to attempt to duplicate its natural, simple charm. Neither the performer of folksongs nor the folklorist can impose a fixed form for posterity. Critical aesthetics have little or no effect upon folksong transmission; instead, the continuity within an active tradition appears to be ruled solely by a pragmatic functionalism which retains only what has meaning to the singer and perhaps, his audience. Lacking a useful function, a ballad is soon discarded or altered to something new. A folk-singer can seldom explain why he likes a particular song. His articulation appears to be completely contained within the songs themselves though frequently he will suggest that his songs are "true". By this he means that they are psychologically (not historically) true.

The function of a folksong in performance must be clearly distinguished from its usage. As Merriam has pointed out, descriptive facts are not in themselves truly significant unless they are applied to a broader study of

the phenomena they describe - the 'what' is one thing, the 'why' is another. Simply stated, usage refers to the situation in which the folksong is employed in human action. Function concerns the reasons for its use and the purposes it serves. Thus the full, factually observed phenomena that the collector is presented with must be recorded without any judgement or evaluation at that time. The deeper significance of the 'usage' thus observed is subjected to a process of analysis and by deduction or intuitive comprehension, its function may become clear.

Merriam[1] notices nine functions of folksong, of which five appear mutually dependent upon the remaining four. Thus he proposes the following:

1. Physical Response
2. Aesthetic Enjoyment
3. Entertainment
4. Communication
5. Symbolic representation
6. Enforcing conformity to social norms.
7. Validation of social institutions and religious rituals.
8. Contributing to the continuity and stability of culture.
9. Contributing to the integration of society.

It is difficult to discern any real separation in the latter two functions and together with six and seven, they form a group of primary functions to which the initial five are subserviant. As illustrations, one might consider the heroic ballad and the song of social protest. The first might praise our forces and ridicule our enemies, thus evoking patriotism; clearly it is validating a social institution. The protest song criticizes social conditions that appear unacceptable - such a song diminishes frustrations and might mobilize group sentiments as We shall not be moved has done in recent years. In this instance, functions eight and nine are being observed. Of course the context of performance may suggest that several functions are operating at one and the same time; it is unlikely that one will often encounter a situation

that will allow easy 'pigeon-holing'.

To suggest that the distinction between folk and literary culture is clearly apparent would be to mis-represent the truth. Many folklorists and literary critics have toyed with the idea of self-evident cultural levels or zones, the reality is that the levels or zones are overlapping and merge in the fashion of those overlapping discs in Venn diagrams. Professor Ibbson[2] has suggested that the relationships between cultures might be represented thus:

or alternatively,

These diagrams suggest a sort of highbrow, middle-brow, low-brow, folk distinction which is questionable on critical, sociological or folkloristic grounds. What appears most relevant is the aspect of continuity inherent in folk or literary culture as against the mere topicality or instant consumption involved in popular/mass culture. In a sense both folk and literary cultures arise from contemporary mass culture and are perpetuated by their respective forms of sanction. Both tend to be the cultural artefacts of a minority of the population; just as there has never been a period when Shakespeare or Spencer has been popular in the sense of mass appreciation so folksong has tended to be limited in its appeal.

At that time when literary, popular and folk cultures impinge upon the same artefact, then confusions abound and in one spectacular instance this situation gave rise to a continued debate over a period of two hundred years or more.

The earliest text that we have of The hunting of the Cheviat, or Chevy Chase as it is better known, is contained within the minstrel's notebook, Ashmole MS.48.[3] This common-place book includes seventy-five pieces amongst

which is Have over the water to Floryda, a ballad [illegible] Alexander Lacy in 1564. The notebook appears to be [illegible] of an itinerant minstrel named Richard Sheale and it [illegible] that The hunting of the Cheviat was written down by [illegible] from the contents of his repertoir only five songs [illegible] as compositions by Sheale and this variant of Chev[illegible] Several ballad scholars have questioned this provenance and it must be remarked that their opinion appears sound when one examines the [illegible] between the five pieces.[4] Since we now better understand the process of communal re-creation in traditional balladry, we can now offer a plausible explanation. The five pieces were not composed by Sheale they were re-created traditionally by Sheale. Thus Sheale becomes our first folk-singer to have left evidence of his repertoire. The fact that he claimed authorship is not unusual, almost every experienced collector has encountered singers who will dogmatically state that the old ballads they sing are their own songs and in a folkloristic sense they are right. If this view is accepted then The hunting of the Cheviat becomes the first authentic folksong recovered from tradition and certain anomalies which later appear are explained.

Sheale's text is now well known and has been reprinted on a great number of occasions. It was reprinted by Percy and again by Child as well as by many anthologisers of ballads. It is quite distinct textually from any later recovery of the ballad and most noticeably in the looseness of its metrical structure, which suggests that it was a performed song rather than a recited literary text. The art of the more talented folk-singer is extrinsic to the form of his ballad, extemporization being an important element in his performance. This artistic skill is usually evidenced more in the melodic aspects of performance than in the textual, but there is little doubt that certain singers can skillfully break metre and even stanzaic structure to heighten the narrative effect when and where desired. Thus the broadsided

Chevy Chase opens:

> The stout earle of Northumberland
> a vow to God did make,
> His pleasure in the Scottish woods
> three summer days to take.

and continues in regular ballad-metre for the entire story. Sheale broke down this regularity right from the start;

> The Percy out of Northumberland
> And a vow to God made he,
> That he would hunt in the mountayns
> of Cheviat within days three
> In the magger of doughty Douglas
> And all that ever with him be.

Later in his version, Sheale appears to have some difficulty with the last line of this stanza;

> For Wetharrington my heart was woe
> that ever he slayne should be,
> For when both his legs were hewn in two
> Yet he kneeled and fought on his knee

But it is far above the ridiculous banality of the broadside;

> For Witherington needs must I wail
> As one in doleful dumpes,
> For when his leggs were smitten off
> He fought upon his stumps.

This latter is made more wretched (if that is possible) when one remembers that a dump was a popular slow dance of the Elizabethan period. Thus the juxtaposition becomes grotesque.

There are narrational discrepancies between the Sheale MS and the broadside form which require explanation since they have confused later critics. Sheale tells us that the hunting was a search party - march spanning border and thus reinforcing the locality of the scene of the action to the valley of Chevy Chase, north of the Cheviot hills and in that debateable land on the borders of England and Scotland. Yet later he explains that;

Old men that knowen the grounde well
enough,
Call it the battell of Otterburn.

This is absurd because Otterburn, the scene of an [illegible] between Earl Douglas and Hotspur in 1388, is at least thirty miles north of Chevy Chase. No doubt Sheale was aware of the battle of Otterburn from hearing another ballad and confused the two actions. In Wedderburn's The Complaynt of Scotland of 1549, The hunting of the Cheviot is mentioned together with a ballad called The Percy and Montgomery Met as being in traditional usage. This latter title must refer to The battle of Otterburn which we know from a Cotton MS.[5] of about the same date as Sheale's text. It is a completely different and unrelated ballad which concerns another situation altogether.

The battle of Otterburn details an encounter which occurred as a consequence of a raid; i.e. a pillaging incursion into England, the objective of which was to burn, destroy and kill an enemy. It is based upon historical fact and is thus distinguished from Chevy Chase which details an imaginary situation - despite Thomas Fuller's assertion that it took place in 1524.[6]

The land between the Cheviots and the River Tweed was a no-mans-land dividing two as yet un-united countries. In asserting their claims to this territory, it was the practice of both the Scots and English to arrange periodic hunting expeditions on a grand scale. Thus in Chevy Chase, Percy takes with him fifteen hundred archers, and kills one hundred deer before Douglas arrives with two thousand men to persuade him to leave. This style of border rivalry continued to well into the eighteenth century though not with such large armies of protagonists. It was essentially a dispute over hunting rights and not a continual campaign for territorial sovreignty.

Historical accuracy is maintained in the Otterburn ballad in that

Douglas is the aggressor who wins a battle but [illegible]
Percy is not slain but is taken for ransoming at a [illegible]
imaginative Chevy Chase, Percy is the aggressor [illegible]
is won by neither side. It is historically untrue [illegible]
died on the same day and the battle of Homildon [illegible]
Chevy Chase did not ensue as retaliation for Percy's death at Otterburn,
since Homildon occurred fourteen years after Otterburn and Percy led the
English army in that action. In addition, the news of Douglas's death
brought to King James is improbable since Douglas was killed at Otterburn
in 1388 whilst James I of Scotland was not crowned until 1424, some thirty-
six years later. Quite possibly there was a skirmish between a member
of the Douglas family and the Percy family in the early fifteenth century,
but no chronicler has seen fit to mention it, and certainly one feels that
had both leaders in such an affray died in the portrayed circumstances,
then history would have recorded the events in some detail.

The evidence of Sheale and Wedderburn confirms the existence of Chevy Chase in traditional usage in the mid-sixteenth century. If, as seems likely, Richard Jones's entry of one hundred and twenty three ballads into the Registers of the Stationers' Company in 1586 was the model for the Ballad Partners entry of 1624 then it is possible that Jones had a copy of Chevy Chase amongst his stock. Unfortunately no copy survives of this period. The ballads listed by the partnership included Chevy Chase and We have two early extant copies; a copy in the Pepys collection[7] printed for Henry Gosson and in the Manchester collection,[8] a copy printed for Edward Wright. The Gosson broadside could be dated as early as 1601 but probably belongs to ca.1630. The sheet by Edward Wright might be dated any time between 1625 and 1655 but was probably issued after 1640 when he became more actively involved in the ballad trade.

Many have conjectured that the version of Chevy Chase that so enamoured Sir Philip Sidney must have been Sheale's text. If one accepts

Sheale as a traditional performer then his text [illegible] idiomorphic and the liklihood of Sidney having [illegible] extremely remote. It is just as possible that Sidney [illegible] singer's version, close to or identical to the [illegible] consistent in textual form until the nineteenth century.

Sidney's comments were the commencement of a [illegible] critics were to have with Chevy Chase for almost two hundred years. Though there is little disagreement as to what Sidney said of the ballad, his meaning has become obscured. Composed between 1577 and 1581 as an answer to Stephen Gosson's The Schoole of Abuse, An Apologie for Poetrie was first published in 1595 in two editions - one authorized and the other a 'pirate' text. Arber points out that Sidney would have called Pilgrim's Progress or Robinson Crusoe, poems, since his conception of the word poet was in the universal sense of maker.[9] Thus he proposes that one can be a poet without versing and a versifier without poetry. His criterion, echoing Aristotle, was "that feyning notable images of vertues, vices, or what els, with the delightful teaching which must be the right describing note to know a poet by."[10] Not until 1641, in Ben Jonson's Timber, or Discoveries, Made upon Men and Matter did we have the modern limitation of the idea expressed that a poet is an imaginator in verse.[11]

Of Chevy Chase, Sidney wrote:

> "Certainly I must confesse my own barbarousnes,
> I never heard the olde song of Percy and Douglas,
> that I found not my heart mooved more then with
> a Trumpet: and yet it is sung by some blinde
> Crouder, with no rougher voyce then rude stile:
> which being so evill apparrelled in the dust and
> cobwebbes of that uncivill age, what would it worke
> trymmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar?" [12]

Sidney is not equating Chevy Chase with Pindar in excellence as some have suggested, nor perhaps is he suggesting that its power would have been greater if couched in Pindaric style and eloquence for just a few lines later he points out that Pindar's verse seemed eloquent upon matters of

small moment, a fault of the poet, if not the poetry.

suggesting that this rude style, rough verse and [illegible]

sufficient unto itself - that, as he says, "[illegible]

courage" can be fully effective and appreciated. [illegible]

the way in which other nations use songs to [illegible]

notably Hungary, where he says that the songs [illegible]

on past feats of valour, men in their prime to boast of [illegible]

triumph and young men to forecast the brave deeds of [illegible]

accomplish at some time in the future. Throughout, Sidney is observing that the heroic ballad serves as a functioning, emotional force rather than as an example of a subtle literary style to be emulated. Sidney was of course a soldier who died in 1586, at the age of thirty-one, of the results of a wound received in battle. His stature in the eyes of the English people approached that of one of the fabled champions of Christendom.

Sidney's Apologie went through at least seventeen editions in the seventeenth century, thus we can assume that it influenced popular taste. His championing of a vulgar street ballad may well have given rise to some mild interest amongst the more discerning reading public - the wider audience we know did not need persuading to consume the ever increasing output of the ballad press.

After 1600 one encounters an increasing number of references to Chevy Chase though not always to the ballad - sometimes only the tune is implied. In Heywood's A Woman Killed with Kindness, written about 1603 and printed in 1607, we find in Act I, scene i, Sir Charles Mountford challenging Sir Francis Acton to a hawking contest to take place at Chevy Chase. The location forbodes the events that are to follow in scene iii, when a fight breaks out between the two factions. Grivelet[13] goes so far as to suggest that the whole of the third scene is a re-echoing of the ballad of Chevy Chase and even though he may be guilty of labouring the point, certainly Heywood did not choose the location out of mere

whimsey. He would have been aware that his [illegible] with the ballad would warn them of the [illegible] choice of contest ground.

Contemporary with Heywood's play, we are told [illegible] that as a young man he loved to hear and to sing [illegible] Chivie Chase, The seige of Caunt and Arthur.[14] [illegible] ballads was well known, but his particular choice here is interesting for they are stock ballads - broadsides ballads adapted not to be kept in print in contrast to 'time-serving' ballads of an ephemeral nature that were printed but once to satisfy an immediate demand.

Written about 1625 but not printed until 1644 is the second literary notice of Chevy Chase in which David Hume of Godscroft alludes to both The battle of Otterburn (a Scottish variant now lost) and "Chevey Chase,"[15] indicating that both had survived in Scotland. His notes on Chevy Chase are valuable in that he is the first to clearly distinguish the historical ballad of Otterburn from the fanciful ballad of Chevy Chase. Like Sidney, he decides that the merit in Chevy Chase is its ability to "stirre up virtue in the heart" and he is certain it is not the "musick of that rough singer" that gives it the force, "farre lesse the virtue of the grosse rime."

Another literary talent is said to have been over-awed by Chevy Chase though the evidence is fugitive. From Addison onwards, ballad criticism repeats that Ben Jonson once said that he would rather have been the author of Chevy Chase than of all his works. Perhaps he was maudlin drunk or had just been badly received at the playhouse but not a trace of evidence appears to substantiate this statement and at other times Jonson is unequivocal in his condemnation of ballad writers and their wares. In his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden he remarked:

> "One who fired a Tobacco pipe with a ballad, the next day having a sore head, swoare he had a great singing in his head, and he thought it was the ballad: A poet should detest a ballad-maker." 16

For the remainder of the seventeenth century, Chevy Chase remained as popular in tradition as is indicated by Izaak Walton, Charles Cotton and Andrew Marvell.[18] A traditional text, obviously influenced by the broadside ballad, is contained in the Percy Folio MS of ca.1650. Here often it is the tune that is referred to for during the seventeenth century, a multitude of different texts were set to it, including, The Lady Isabella's Tragedy,[19] Sir Hugh of the Grime,[20] Fair Margaret's Misery[21] and King Leir and his three daughters.[22] It has often been noted that in decline, a folk-ballad will lose popularity through its tune surviving. A text is easier to replace then a good tune and despite the rather four-square aspect of Chevy Chase, it clearly was a great favourite throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Another influence which leads to the demise of a ballad text is the appearance of parodies and Chevy Chase suffered more than most in this respect, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century.

As for the broadside availability, this continued unabated. The Ballad Partners retained Chevy Chase amongst their stock of titles throughout the seventeenth century and copies are extant of the following imprints:

1. Printed for H. (or M) G. (ca.1630)[23]
2. Printed for Edward Wright (ca.1640)[24]
3. Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere and W. Gilbertson. (ca.1661)[25]
4. Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere and J. Wright. (ca.1676)[26]
5. Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger. (ca.1679)[27]

Though no sheet survives to attest that Thackeray issued the ballad towards the end of the partnership, it was included by him in the trade-list of 1689.

5. London, printed by Tho. Norris..... and sold by W. Deacon..... (1699)[28]

7. ....by and for C. Brown and are to be sold by J. Walter.....

8. ....by and for W.O., and are to be sold by B. Walter.....

9. ...by and for W. Onley, and sold by the Booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge.

10. ...by and for W.O. and are to be sold by the Booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge. (1723-1750)[32]

11. ...by and for W. Onley; and are to be sold by C. Bates at the Sun and Bible.... (1707)[33]

In addition the Pepys Library possesses a copy of The Life and Acts of ....Sir William Wallace....printed at Edinburgh by Andrew Anderson in 1673. Bound in with this is a small sheaf of scottish broadsides of the same period or earlier, including a variant of Chevy Chase with details adjusted to suit the Scottish taste. This small group of ballads contains the well known unique broadside of The Elfin Knight but surprisingly, both Percy and Child, who knew of the latter, overlooked the copy of Chevy Chase.

Following Norris's attempt to re-establish copyright in 1712, Chevy Chase became a popular stock item with almost every ballad printer and the Bow churchyard - Aldermary churchyard presses kept it in print throughout the eighteenth century whilst Pitts and John Evans issued it frequently during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The increasing popularity of the chapbook resulted in a plethora of editions throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and Hamer had detected several dozen different issues in what hardly begins to be a comprehensive list.

Absurd though it might appear, there are some grounds for believing that the folk-singer was less inclined to obtain his songs from chapbooks than slips or sheets. It appears that to some singers, like Harry Cox of Catfield, the chapbook was a reading book which one kept carefully as a part of a library whereas the slip was for instant use and was disposable.

William Dicey appears to have realized this fact [illegible] both formats and when eventually the large sliding [illegible] their lengthy ballads disappeared from the wares of the [illegible] then the few longer ballads that were kept in print [illegible] as chapbooks. The popularity of Chevy Chase appears [illegible] after 1830 and very few versions have been encountered [illegible]. To some extent this may be due to the lack of availability on sheets or slips but more pertinently, one feels that the social upheaval of the 1780-1820 period dulled the heroic aspects of such songs and the singers became more sympathetic to songs dealing with life as it was being experienced than the imaginative ballads portraying life as they would like to lead it. Songs became shorter, more personalized and introspective or they dealt increasingly with the iniquities of the press-gang, the high price of bread or the rights of man. The first casualties of the old ballad stock were historical ballads or those that dealt with historical situations. It is revealing that Professor Bronson's Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads shows a third of Child's collection to be non-traditional, i.e. there are no records of them being sung. Further, that another third, notably the Scottish local ballads dealing with historical events, appear in traditional usage very infrequently - perhaps only two or three extant variants being recorded. Of the remaining third, the thirty most popular in usage include not one historical ballad. Bronson's sources were principally collections made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from singers who had probably acquired their repertoires between 1840 and 1860. Had a similar depth survey been made by collectors in the late eighteenth century, it is certain that the pattern would have been very different.

Before the next phase of literary interest in Chevy Chase, a parallel Latin-English text had been published by Henry [illegible]ld in his Latine Songs.[34]

This was reprinted in the third edition of Dryden's Miscellany in 1702. An anonymous contributor to a short-lived periodical, The Muses Mercury, published an article in the June issue of 1707 entitled "Of the Old English Poets and Poetry." In this he anticipated Addison's celebrated Spectator essays by four years and recorded his belief that the broadside text was ancient. He continued, to give a full account of The Nut Browne Maide extracted from the first volume of Percy's collection of ballads. In an article devoted to "Addison's Influence on the Development of Interest in Folk-Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," H.K. Broadus rather ingenuously surmises that since we know that Addison did not contribute to The Muses Mercury but his later partner Steele did, then obviously Steele was the author of the piece.

Addison's first essay concerning Chevy Chase appeared in the Spectator of May 1, 1711. "Human nature being the same in all reasonable creatures," he argues, "it is impossible that anything should be universally tasted and approved by a Multitude, tho' they are only the Rabble of a Nation, which hath not in it some peculiar Aptness to please and gratifie the Mind of Man." (It is worth remarking that this is strangely similar to the attitudes later adopted by Herder). He then quotes in justification, the anecdote told of Moliere, who read all his plays to his house-keeper and from the immediacy of her reactions could fortell the reception his new work would have on its first night.

Addison was certain that the "inherent Perfection of Simplicity of Thought" as compared with the "gothick Manner in Writing" was the difference between a universally acceptable style and a wrong "artificial Taste for fanciful Authors and writers of Epigrams." It was the difference between Homer, Virgil and Milton whose appeal is to all, and Martial or Cowley who appeal to only a few misguided souls. Quoting Sidney and confessing his own admiration for the ballad he proposes a critique upon Chevy Chase. He feels it to be fundamental that a heroic poem must be founded upon an

important precept of morality adapted to the constitution of [illegible]
own country. This he parallels the disunity of the Greek [illegible]
Homer and the dissention amongst the barons with Chevy Chase. [illegible]
Chase is seen as a morality to deter men from unnatural [illegible]
is qualified by Chevy Chase's closing stanza;

God save the King and bless the Land.
In Plenty, Joy and Peace;
And grant henceforth that foul debate
'Twixt nobleman may cease.

He again forstalls Herder in his insistence that the [illegible]
must celebrate those persons and actions which honour their country -
a fairly strident call for nationalism in fact. Heroic sentiments are
observed in the manner in which Percy and Douglas unsuccessfully attempt
to decide their differences in a duel and great beauty is seen in Percy's
lamentation over the body of the slain Douglas. This latter passage
provides him with a rather fortuitous parallel with Virgil's Aeneid:

Then leaving Life Earl Piercy took
The dead man by the Hand
And said, Earl Douglas for thy sake
Would I had lost my land.

O Christ! My very heart doth bleed
With Sorrow for thy Sake;
For sure a more renowned Knight
Mischance did never take.

In the Aeneid, Aeneas has just slain Lausus;

The pious Prince beheld young Lausus dead;
He griev'd, he wept; then grasped his Hand,
and said,
Poor hapless Youth! What Praises can be paid
To worth so great!

and thus Addison closed his first essay upon Chevy Chase.

Within a matter of days, John Dennis was sufficiently incensed to

write to his friend Henry Cromwell,[36] attacking Addison's [illegible]. The letter was published ten years later. Dennis was of the opinion that Addison was neither in earnest nor jesting. Not in earnest because his remarks in Tatler No. 134 show that he felt that there were qualities that pleased the rabble which men of quality and education could not admit. And not jesting because he strenuously endeavours to convince the reader of the excellence of a piece of old doggerel. On heroic poetry, Dennis remarks that people of quality may, in spite of their education, be frequently as much in error as the uneducated and, he wittily adds, even the Spectator's motto taken from Horace admits that the multitude is just as often wrong as right. He goes on to suggest that Sidney must have been moved by the singing and it was the music that influenced him not the text. Whilst agreeing that extravagances of style are to be deprecated, he can nonetheless find nothing great, nothing noble, no magnificence, no vehemence, no painting, no poetry in Chevy Chase. To compare it to Virgil he says, "is like comparing a dead man to a living."

Addison was probably unaware of Dennis's restrained and modern criticism when, on May 25th., he wrote another essay, continuing his criticism of the ballad. Little new is added though he does attempt to promote Chevy Chase on purely poetic grounds and gives yet further parallel passages from Virgil. Later than same year (1711), an anonymous writer published A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb. This is a brilliantly gay parody of Addison's essays upon Chevy Chase and it has been attributed to both Swift and Arbuthnot. In the 1726 edition of The Miscellaneous Works of William Wagstaffe the Tom Thumb parody is reprinted and some explanation is attached. Referring to Addison's essay he says;

> "The Doctor happen'd to be of a different opinion from the formention'd Author, and therefore pitched upon the History of Tom Thumb, a Poem of equal Fame, tho' it may be less venerable for its Antiquity than that

> of Chevy-Chase, to shew that the [illegible]
> the ancient Poets may be as well [illegible]
> as the other;
> ....However, the main thing the Doctor [illegible]
> have in view in Writing this small Piece, [illegible]
> evince that a Man of quick Parts and [illegible]
> sometimes extend his Thoughts on Critical [illegible]
> and if Men of Learnings were once to give [illegible]
> way of Writing, they might please some [illegible]
> vulgar and superficial Taste; but...those of [illegible]
> Judgement would be apt to think they might have employed
> their Talents after a more useful and instructive manner." 37

This flurry of interest in Chevy Chase gave rise to a host of parodies and allusions, almost all satirical or mock-heroic. Thus John Gay introduces his country ballad-singer Blowzybella in The Shepherd's Week and apes the style:

> Ah Lith'rington, more Years thy Life had crown'd
> If thou hadst never heard the Horn or Hound:
> Yet shall the Squire, who fought on bloody stumps
> By future Bards be wail'd in doleful Dumps. 38

and Alexander Pope comments in Memoirs of P.B. Clerk of this Parish;

> "Yea, often did I exercise myself in singing godly ballads, such as The Lady and Death, The Children in the Wood, and Chevy Chase; and not, like other children in lewd and trivial ditties." 39

With the appearance of parodies, attention became concentrated upon the melody of the ballad and it was employed for many broadsides and became a popular air in ballad-operas. It is air twenty in Gay's The Beggar's Opera; air three in John Kelly's The Plot and air nine of Fabian's Trick for Trick. A multitude of usages are detailed in Simpson.[40]

The traditional usage of the ballad and legendary lore associated with it is mentioned by Defoe;

> We had the Cheviot Hills so plain in view, that we could not but enquire of the good old women every where, whether they had heard of the fight at Chevy Chase: They not only told us they had heard of it but had all the Account of it at their Fingers End; and taking a Guide at Wooler to shew us the road, he pointed out distinctly to us the very Spot where the Engagement was; here said he, Earl Piercy was killed, and there Earl Douglas; here Sir William Witherington fought upon his stumps, and here the Englishmen that were slain, were buried, and there the Scots. 41

When Richardson's second edition of Defoe's Tour [illegible] this description was amplified and the suggestion [illegible] Chevy Chase was an imaginative ballad, the local people [illegible] account of the fight. In fact all that had happened [illegible] Chevy Chase and the battle of Otterburn had been confused, and [illegible] to form an interesting example of the manner in which [illegible] provide the historian with valuable insights [illegible] problems implicit in teasing out truth from [illegible]. Adam Milne, in his History of the Parish of Melrose provides [illegible] tells us that five miles south of Melrose at Ancrum Muir is a monument erected to a girl who fought with great bravery there in 1545. The inscription reads;

> Fair Maiden Lilliard lies under this stone,
> Little was her Stature, but great her fame.
> On English lads she laid many Thumps
> And when her legs were off, she fought
> upon her stumps.

In 1719, Thomas Hearne reprinted Sheale's minstrel text, giving it the title, The Battle of Otterburn.[42] Little attention was paid to this until Samuel Say published his Poems on Several Occasions: and the Critical Essays in 1745. He argues that the broadside text is superior to Sheale's version on the basis of its historical veracity.[43] He perpetuates Thomas Fuller's assertion that the battle took place in 1524 and this caused Percy to assign to Say, the onus of having first identified the false historical note.[44] Say's distress at finding the character of Percy displayed as a man of brute violence and strength in comparison to Douglas's virtue, points to some confusion in the critic's mind. He may have been in possession of a lost Scottish text or alternatively he had the Cotton MS. of The battle of Otterburn in mind.

Oliver Goldsmith's love of the ballad form is well [illegible] in The Bee of October 27, 1759, he astutely points to the [illegible] received by the common people from their legendary ballads:

> "Every country has its traditions, which [illegible] minute or not sufficiently authentic to receive historical sanction, are handed down among the [illegible] and serve at once to instruct and amuse them. Of this number, the Adventures of Robin Hood, the [illegible] Chevy Chase and the bravery of Johnny Armstrong among the English..."

With the publication of Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, the survival of both the Sheale text and the broadside version of Chevy Chase was assured. Literary attention was to wane after this date and only the ballad collectors and folklorists pursued an active interest in its subsequent survival.

Following Child, who scoured the early nineteenth century collections of ballads and discovered only remnants of the broadside history of Chevy Chase; the traditional records are meagre. The complete ballad was encountered once by Frank Kidson from William Cheetham of Horsforth in Yorkshire[45] and another English set was published from tradition in Northumberland by Bruce and Stokoe.[46] Both versions appear to have been silently amplified from the broadside text. A unique version was recovered by A. . Davies in Harrisonburg, Virginia from the singing of Miss Martha E. Davis, the text being noted in 1914 and the tune recovered by Eunice Kettering in 1931.[47] Phillips Barry obtained a Maine variant in which the text was very badly mangled through oral transmission and Chevy Chase corrupted to "Shiver Creek".[48] Apart from these remnants we have half a dozen tunes of doubtful authenticity and that is all.

Perhaps the demise of Chevy Chase in traditional usage reflects an ever-growing cynicism with the heroic and nationalistic propaganda of war. This is certainly manifested in Harbon's parody, The Drinking Match at Eden Hall[4] and Cibber's squib written at the time of the birth of George II's son;

God prosper long our gracious King
Now sitting on the Throne,
Who leads the Nation in a string
And governs all but One. 50

Hamer has identified thirty such parodies [illegible] opening words re-echo Chevy Chase.[51] Had [illegible] the style then his list would have been very [illegible]. [illegible] in view of such a mass of irreverent squibs, to [illegible] continue to indulge an audience with Chevy Chase [illegible] them of other whimseys. The parodies were even [illegible] districts upon any event of social or political significance. [illegible] insignificant must surely be the following complaint of a travelling [illegible]:

God prosper long our noble King
Our lives and fortunes all,
A Woful preachment once there did
In Mamble Church befall.
I preached all the livelong Day,
Reprentance to a Sinner
But I'le preach there no more I swear
For they gave me no dinner. 52.

Notes to Chapter two

1. Merriam, Alan P. The Anthropology of [illegible]. [illegible] University Press, 1964. See particularly [illegible]

2. Dorson, Richard M. American Folklore and the [illegible] of Chicago Press, 1971, pp.90-91.

3. See Child, No. 162.

4. See particularly Bryant's A History of [illegible] pp.6-33.

5. See Child, No. 161.

6. Fuller, Thomas. The Worthies of England, London, 1684. p.306.

7. Pepys Collection, I. 92-3.

8. Manchester Collection, II, 7.

9. Sidney, Sir Philip. An Apologie for Poetrie, 1595. Edited by Edward Arber. London, 1868, p.9.

10. ibid., p.29.

11. Jonson, Ben. Timber or Discoveries being Observations on Men and Matters. London 1902. pp.113-115.

12. Sidney, op.cit. p.46.

13. Grivelet, M. Thomas Heywood et le Drame Domestique Elizabethain, 1957. Quoted by R.W. Van Fossen in his edition of A Woman Killed with Kindness, London, 1961; introduction p.xxv.

14. Corbet, Bishop Richard. Poems. London, 1672, p.69.

15. Hume of Godscroft, David. History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus. Edinburgh, 1644.

16. Dixon, J.H., Ed. The Garland of Good Will by Thomas Deloney. Percy Society, London, 1851.

17. Walton, Izaak and Charles Cotton. The Compleat Angler, London, 1661, p.77.

18. Marvell, Andrew, "The Loyal Scot" lines 69-70.

19. Douce Collection, I. 111

20. D'Urfey, Thomas. Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy, Vol.6, p.289.

21. Roxburgh Ballads, VI, 645.

22. Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures, London, 1620; reprinted in Roxburgh Ballads, VI, 714.

23. Pepys Collection, I. 92-3.

24. Manchester Collection, II. 7.

25. Euing Collection, Nos. 212 and 213.

26. Roxburghe Collection, III. 66.

27. Harvard Collection.

28. Purchased by Maggs from Sotheby's auction, [illegible]

29. British Museum, 1871. f.3 (15).

30. Recorded in Hazlitt, Handbook, 101.

31. British Museum, C.40. m. 10 (37).

32. British Museum, 112. f.44 (48).

33. British Museum, C.40 m.9 (32).

34. Bold, Henry, Latine Songs, with their English, and Poems, London, 1685, Song xxi.

35. Modern Philology, viii, 124n.

36. Dennis, John. Original Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical, London, 1721, p.166.

37. The Miscellaneous Works of William Wagstaffe, London, 1726, pp.lx-xii.

38. Gay, John. The Shepherd's Week. London, 1714. p.59.

39. Pope, Alexander, "Memoirs of P.P. Clerk of this Parish." In Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, 5 vols, London, 1727, Vol.ii.270

40. Simpson, Claude M. The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music. New Jersey, 1966. pp.96-101.

41. Defoe, Daniel. A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. 3 vols. London, 1714-27. Vol.iii. 195.

42. Hearne, Thomas. Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia. Oxford, 1719. pp.lxxxii-lxxxviii.

43. Say, Samuel. Poems on Several Occasions: and The Critical Essays... London, 1745. p.167.

44. Percy, D.D., Thomas. Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. Edited by Henry B. Wheatley. 3 vols. London, 1887, Vol.I, 251.n.

45. Kidson, Frank. Traditional Tunes... Oxford, 1891, pp.18-19.

46. Bruce, J. Collingwood and John Stokoe. Northumbrian Minstrelsy, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1882, pp.1-24.

47. Davis, Jr., Arthur Kyle, More Traditional Ballads of Virginia, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960, p.242.

48. Barry, Phillips, Fanny H. Eckstorm, and Mary W. Smythe. British Ballads from Maine. New Haven, 1929.

49. The Drinking Match. A New Ballad in Imitation of Chevy-Chase. By a Person of Quality. Dublin, 1722. This popular parody is ascribed to Philip Wharton, Duke of Wharton.

50. British Museum. Add. MS.28253. f.270 (dated 17[illegible]) [illegible] by Westley and parodying both Chevy Chase and [illegible] as Poet Laureat.

51. Hamer, Douglas. "Parodies of Chevy Chase" in [illegible], June 24, 1933. pp.434-38.

52. Harley MS.7316, f.19.

Ballads in transmission

The process of transmission of folksongs [illegible] can proceed in two ways; the songs may be passed on by oral communication or they may be transmitted with the assistance of some form of written text. This much almost every collector and editor of folksongs would agree with though they might disagree upon the question of the degree of literary assistance. It has been a feature of the growth of the study and collection of folksongs that the efficiency of collectors has increased in proportion to their knowledge of the repertoire. Thus collectors have tended to collect those songs they are aware of, or alternatively those songs that fit thematically within the range of subject matter they know to have been employed by singers. The effect is dramatically seen when one studies the manuscripts of an early collector like Cecil Sharp or Ralph Vaughan Williams, taking especial note of the chronology of the collection. Immediately a new song is discovered then a spate of occurrences are noted. Despite Mr. Fox Strangeway's authoritive statement made when the Folk Song Society was amalgamated with the Folk Dance Society in 1932[1] it was found that the account was not closed and that there were new songs to be discovered not just variant forms of those already known. And even so today the work of collecting continues and many previously unknown folksongs have surfaced and many more no doubt will appear in due course. What is plainly true is that a great deal of the folksong repertoire in use at the time of Sharp, Vaughan Williams, Grainger, etc., was never disclosed to or discovered by these enthusiasts. More significant than this however is the growing realization that these early pioneers overlooked one source of material that could have proved of inestimable value. A great many singers, particularly those with extensive repertoires, possessed collections of ballad sheets, newspaper clippings with songs upon them or manuscr pt 'ballet' books. Often these

collections were family heirlooms and had been [illegible] years. There appears to be two main reasons why [illegible] never disclosed to the collectors; firstly the [illegible] turn of the twentieth century was directed towards [illegible] not texts alone, secondly the collectors tended to [illegible] singers their great regard for the ability of the singers to remember so many long ballads and songs. This latter factor gave rise to the feeling amongst some singers that it was more commendable to be considered a singer with a memory than a singer with a ballad collection. A striking example of this attitude at work is the case of the Norfolk singer, Harry Cox. For a period of nine years the present writer visited this very talented singer until he died in 1971. Many collectors had visited him since 1924 when E.J. Moeran first met him at 'The Windmill' near Catfield,[2] a village a few miles north-east of Norwich. Because my visits spanned a number of years I was able to collect with a little more success than most of his visitors and also to discover the relationships that had been established between him and his visitors. It was immediately clear that Mr. Cox had a very sophisticated awareness of what a folksong was as distinct from a musichall item or a popular song. In addition it was apparent that these distinctions had evolved during the process of meeting collectors, in other words information had been both given and received. Having noted that many of his ballads were textually identical to ballad sheets issued from the press of Henry P. Such, it was natural to question the singer closely as to how he had acquired his repertoire. They had all been learnt by ear though he could remember his mother buying slips from Norwich market when he was young. Quite definitely he had never ever learnt a song from print. All he needed to do to learn a song was to ask a singer to sing it to him three or four times and then it was fixed in his head. Despite misgivings one accepted this explanation because

other collectors had been given the same story by many [illegible] over the country. Shortly before he died I paid a visit to his home as I would like to see his collection of song-books and manuscripts. My surprise having abated I examined the huge pile of documents he showed me, (they are now in my possession) and discovered three manuscript notebooks, many songs written out on the backs of old envelopes, a large number of newspaper clippings taken from 'The Eastern Evening News', and an extensive collection of songsters, printed broadsheets and slip-songs. When questioned, Harry confirmed that he had not learned his songs from print, only from the manuscript notebooks and old envelopes. A comparison of his repertoire and miscellaneous collection bears out this statement. As for learning a song by listening to it three or four times, this too turned out to be partly true for he could manage to fix the tune after only a few repetitions - the words, written out by the informant upon any scrap of paper that happened to be handy, were memorised over a period of seven to ten days and of course, the texts were always available should there be a lapse of memory. The circulation of this news amongst other collectors has resulted in many such hoards of songs being revealed. The imagined stigma of owning up to the possession of a manuscript or 'ballet' collection has never applied in America and many collectors there have encountered family heirlooms of this nature. Some of these notebooks have extended to several hundred ballads and songs - one suspects that if properly approached, that famous Sussex singer Henry Burstow, would have produced such a book to substantiate his list of four hundred and twenty songs listed in his autobiography.[3]

Since the ownership of a manuscript collection of songs implies a restricted circulation within a small community or family group, it is to be understood that the term 'oral transmission' includes this category of data. It is clearly appreciated that some manuscript texts might well

have been copied from broadside texts but it is the [illegible] actual broadside that must guide us in any [illegible] their influence over the textual form of folksongs. [illegible] manuscript which may have derived from an [illegible] considered effective evidence. Of those ballads that [illegible] of having been influenced in tradition by reinforcement at [illegible] by a broadside text, there appears to be three discernible categories:

1. Ballads which demonstrate a definite adherence to [illegible] distributed broadside form; usually accompanied by [illegible] observance of melodic stability.

2. Ballads that show signs of having derived from a broadside but which have evolved in tradition by a process of selection from the printed text.

3. Ballads that have altered both in oral transmission and in their broadside forms.

The following texts, derived from both folk-singers and broadside sheets or slips, illustrate the three categories.

Of the many folksongs which follow a textual pattern common to their broadside variants, by far the largest number observe the nineteenth century form, which is to be expected. Folksongs which show a consistency with broadsides of earlier provenance are rarer and in the main tend to fall into the category of historical ballads. Such a ballad is Captain Ward and the 'Rainbow'.[4]

Professor Child paid scant attention to this very popular folksong and printed only one text, this being the broadside printed by William Onley at the end of the seventeenth century.[5] Though he was aware of both the Euing and Pepys copies he evidently did not examine them or else he would have seen that both were of an earlier date. His sparse notes were perhaps the cause of Barry's assumption that the ballad belonged to

a period after 1688;[6] his reasoning being [illegible] the Song in a less than favourable light and this fact alone would [illegible] its issue at a time more closely allied to the [illegible]. In this he was wrong for the Euing copy printed for [illegible] was issued before 1655 when the Balliad Partners [illegible] and it may have been printed as early as 1630.[7] From [illegible] about all subsequent issues are derived and from extant copies we are able to trace the reprintings through the hands of the Ballad Partners, their successors, the Bow churchyard[8] and Alder[illegible]churchyard[9] presses and on to the press of John Pitts[10] and his competitor, John Evans.[11] At some time after the first decade of the nineteenth century, the ballad was shortened,[12] (perhaps to fit the new quarto-slip format) and thereafter remained in its abbreviated form.

The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow.

To the Tune of Captain WARD

(1) Strike up you lusty Gallant
with Musick and sound of Drum,
For we have discryed a Rower
upon the Sea is come.

(2) His name is Captain Ward
right well it doth appear;
There has not been such a Rower
found out this thousand years.

(3) For he has sent unto our King,
the sixth of January,
Desiring that he might come in
with all his company.

(4) And if your King will let me come,
till I my tale have told,
I will bestow for my ransome,
full thirty Tun of Gold.

(5) O nay, O nay, then sayes our King,
O nay this may not be,
To yield to such a Rower,
my self will not agree.

(6) He has deceived the Frenchman,
likewise the King of Spain:
And how can he be true to me
that hath been false to twain.

(7) With that our King provided,
a ship of worthy fame,
Rainbow she is so called,
if you would know her name.

(8) Now the gallant Rainbow,
she Rowes up on the Sea,
Five hundred gallant Seamen
do bear her company.

(9) The Dutch man, and the Spaniard,
she made them for to flye,
Also the bony Frenchman,
as she met them on the Sea.

(10) When as this Gallant Rainbow,
did come where Ward did lie,
Where is the Captain of this Ship,
this gallent Rainbow did cry.

(11) O that am I sayes Captain Ward,
there's no man bids my lye,
And if thou art the Kings fair Ship,
thou art welcome unto me.

(12) I'le tell thee what sayes Rainbow,
our King is in great grief,
That thou shouldst lye upon the Sea
and slay the Arrant thief.

(13) And will not let our Merchant ships
passe as they did before,
Such tidings to our King is come
which grieves his heart full sore.

(14) With that this gallant Rainbow,
she shot out of her pride,
Full fifty gallant brasse pieces
charged on every side.

(15) Although these gallant shooters,
prevailed not a pin,
Though they were brass on the outside
Yet Ward was steel within.

(16) shoot on, shoot on, sayes Captain [illegible]
your sport well pleaseth me,
And he that first give over,
shall yield unto the Sea.

(17) I never wronged an English ship,
but the Turk and King of Spain,
For and the Jovial Dutchman,
as I met on the main.

(18) If I had known your King,
but one two years before,
I would have saved brave Essex life,
whose death did grieve me sore.

(19) Go tell the King of England,
go tell him thus from me,
If he Raign King of all the Land,
I will raign King at Sea.

(20) With that the Royal Rainbow shot,
and shot and shot in vain,
And left the Rovers company,
and returned home again.

(21) Our Royal King of England,
your Ship's return'd again,
For Wards ship is so strong,
she never will be tane.

(22) O everlasting sayes our King,
I have lost Jewels three,
Which would agone to the Seas,
and brought proud Ward to me.

(23) The first was Lord Clifford,
Earle of Cumberland,
The second was the Lord Mountjoy,
as you shall understand.

(24) The third was brave Essex,
from field would never flee,
Who would have gone unto the Sea,
and brought proud Ward to me.

LONDON, Printed for Fr. Coles at the sign of the Lamb [illegible].[13]

Chronologically, the next extant copy of the ballad is the [illegible] "Printed for J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger". This dates from ca.1685 and shows few variations from the Coles issue;[14]

3.1 For he has sent unto the King,
6.1 He hath deceiv'd the French-man,
7.3 Rainbow is she called,
8.4 to bear her company.
9.3 Also the bonny French man,
17.2 but Turk and King of Spain,
20.1 With that the gallant Rainbow shot,
20.3 And left the Rowers Company,
21.4 it never will be tane.
22.3 Which would have gone unto the seas,
24.3 Which would a gone unto the Seas,

Apart from these small changes, the most significant alteration was that the original stanzaic division was dropped and the text printed as a continuous unit. The original sheet bore four woodcuts, two of which were retained in the Clark/Thackeray/Passinger issue. The first cut had been redone but as a faithful copy of the original. The second block of King James was evidently in good enough condition to re-use though the lower portion was cut away.

Onley's printing of ca.1700,[15] (dated by the British Museum as after 1680) reasserts a stanzaic division in eight line stanzas and makes only one significant change from the previous two issues in that 'rower' is

rendered 'rover' throughout. At first sight it [illegible] refer to Ward as a rover rather than a rower but [illegible] some historical veracity that had been lost by the [illegible] change. In Robert Daborn's play, A christian turn'd Turke, or the tragicall lives and deaths of two pyrates, Ward and [illegible] [16] are told a little of John Ward's background;

> "Poor fisher's brat, that never didst aspire
> Above a musle boate, that wert not borne
> Unto a fortune 'bove two cades of sprats
> And those smoakt in thy father's bed-chamber." [17]

During the eighteenth century the ballad was reprinted several times and on each occasion the Onley form is followed apart from one sheet without imprint in the Madden collection at Cambridge which gives a direction to the tune of 'twas when the Seas were roaring, [18] rather than Captain Ward. This new tune appears to have become popular around 1715 when John Gay employed it in his farce, The What D'ye Call It. Simpson has traced its continued popularity throughout the eighteenth century and has noted its use on other ballad sheets such as Sir John Barleycorn as well as with Captain Ward and the 'Rainbow'. Progressively through the broadsides from the Bow churchyard, Aldermary churchyard, Evans and Pitts presses, minor textual alterations were made. The Pitts issue of about 1815 illustrates the final, full textual form of the oblong folio 'garland' sheets; [19]

1. Strike up ye lusty gallants,
   With musicks sound of drum,
   For there is such a rover
   Upon the sea is come.

2.2 Full well it doth appear,

2.3 Found out these thousand years.

3.1 For he hath sent unto the King,

4.1 And if the king will let me come,

5.1 O nay, O nay, then said the King,

5.2 O nay that must not be,

5.3 To yield to such a rover,

6.1 He hath deceiv'd the Frenchmen,

8.2 She rolls upon the sea,

8.4 To keep her company.

9.2 She made them for to flee,

10.2 Did come where she did lie,

10.4 The Rainbow she did cry.

12.4 And play the errant thief.

13.1 You will not let your merchantmen,

14.3 Full fifty good brass pieces,

15.1 And yet these gallant shooters,

15.4 Brave Ward was steel within.

17.3 Likewise the blackhuard Dutchmen,

17.4 Which I met on the main.

18.2 Buf two or three days before,

18.3 I would have sav'd Lord Essex's life,

20 With that the gallant Rainbow,
She shot and shot in vain,
Then left the Rovers company,
And home return'd again.

21.3 For Captain Ward he is so strong,

23.2 Great Earl of Cumberland,

24.1 The third was brave Lord Essex.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the broadside form was changed drastically and it is this re-vamped text which has been found most often in traditional usage in England.[20]

A new Song on Capt. Ward and the Rainbow.

(1) Come all you English seamen with courage beat your drums,
I well tell you of a Rover that to the seas is come,
Bold Captain Ward they do him call, so plain it does appear
There's not been such a Rover found out this hundred year.

(2) Bold Captain Ward sent to our Queen [illegible]
To know whether he might come in, with [illegible]
To know whether he must come in, fair [illegible]
And for his pardon he would give 50 ton of Gold.

(3) Oh no, oh no, says our Queen that thing can never be
To yield to such a Rover myself will not agree
That has been false to the K of France and to the K. of Spain,
How can it be true to me, that has been false to them.

(4) In a fortnight after a ship sail'd from the west,
Loaded with Silks and Sattins, and loading of the best,
There did they meet with Capt. Ward it was a hard meeting,
He rob'd them of all their wealth and bid them thank their Queen.

(5) With that our Queen provided a gallant ship of fame,
And she was called the Rainbow if you must know her name,
She was so well provided for when to the seas went she,
with 500 gallant seamen to bear her company.

(6) And when he came near to the place where proud Ward did lie,
Where is the master of your ship the gallant Rainbow cry'd,
O here am I says Capt. Ward my name I'll not deny,
If you'er one of the Queen own ships you'er welcome to pass by.

(7) O say the gallant Rainbow our Queen is grieved sore,
Because our merchant ships can't pass as they did here before.
Go home, go home, says Captain Ward, and tell your Queen from me,
If she reigns Queen in fair England I will be King at Sea.

(8) If that's your resolution the gallant Rainbow say'd,
You and I that thing must try before that we pass aside,
Come on come on says Capt. Ward I value not one pin,
If you have brass for outward show I have good steel within.

(9) At four o'clock in the morning they did begin to fight,
And so they did continue till eight o'clok at night,
Fight on fight on says Capt. Ward your sport well pleases me,
And if you fight this month or more your master still I'll me.

(10) With that the gallant Rainbow returned home again,
And left proud Ward upon the seas and there he will remain,
Alack alas then says our Queen I have lost jewels three,
There's Admiral Drake & Withrington & good Lord Essex,
If one of them had been alive they'd brought proud Ward to me.

Professor Bronson gives nine texts with tunes of [illegible] recovered from tradition.[21] He remarks that there [illegible] melodic consistency in this group of folksongs and [illegible] of a flourishing oral tradition.[22] His remarks could [illegible] applied to the texts which for the most part appear to [illegible] brought about by the faulty recollections of the [illegible] broadside form. W.H. Barrett's variant follows this text, omitting stanzas three and ten.[23] The fragments collected by R. Vaughan Williams from Mr. Carter of King's Lynn are constructed from stanzas one, four, five, seven (amended) and nine.[24] Baring Gould's set is more wayward, being cast in shortened ballad-metre form and being clearly an oral reconstruction of the broadside.[25] Apart from following the general plot structure, this latter text constitutes a 'new' ballad - albeit incomprehensible in parts. The three Scottish recoveries[26] follow the rewritten broadside of Randall of Stirling or Scott of Greenock, though all are much abbreviated. This latter variant must also have been the source of Barry's Maine set, collected in 1928.[27] Bronson's remaining text was gathered from Ralph Lewis of York, Maine by Marguerite Olney[28] and consists of ten loosely constructed stanzas of variable length which have much in common with the Victorian broadside.

In consideration, what we have from tradition appears to be a rather dismal picture of steady decay that does little to support the notion of a vital folksong culture. Two further versions collected by George Gardiner in 1906[29] and overlooked by Bronson, show family resemblences to the Barrett and Vaughan Williams texts as does the set recovered by the present writer from the singing of Harry Cox in 1970.[30] They do nothing to modify the idea that all we have is the remnants of a traditional ballad in decline.

The sole singer to retain a version of the ballad in its original form was George Gray, who in 1906 was recorded by Percy Grainger using a

primitive phonograph machine. It was Wray's [illegible] that had two years earlier caused some irritation [illegible] at the Brigg Musical Festival. In judging the Vale [illegible] appear to have been wholly ignorant of the folksong[illegible] became bored when;

> "...one old gentleman, unfortunately very deaf, stood on the platform singing verse after verse of the same song. Efforts were made to stop him in vain by the judge, stewards and others until at last someone had to go up to the platform and bellow in his ear that the judge had heard enough." 31

The melody of the recording made by Grainger was transcribed onto a geletine, and hektographic copies made.[32] No text was added and as a consequence when Bronson examined the Grainger Mss. he decided that the melody marked "Captain Ward" was not the ballad he was interested in; he therefore omitted it from his records of oral currency. The following text was transcribed by the present writer from a dubbing of the original cylinder recording supplied by the Library of Congress.[33]

Come all of you lusty gallants who march at the sound of drum,
For there hasn't been such a rover, upon the sea is come;
His name it is bold Captain Ward, full well it doth appear,
There's never been such a rover found for many a seven years.

For he has sent the King, on the sixth of January,
Desiring that he might come in with all his company.

And if the King will let me in, it's doing my tale I am told;
I will discount of the danger for thirty tons of gold.

"O nay, O nay," then said our King, "O nay that must not bem
To yield to such a robber bold a-sailing on the sea.

He has deceived the French, likewise the King of Spain,
Then how can he be true to me who has been false to them."

With that the King he brought a ship of very noted fame,
The Rainbow she is call-ed if you wish to know her name.

And now the gallant Rainbow, she rolls upon the sea,
Five hundred gentlemen seamen bold will keep her company.

Well now as the gallant Rainbow did [illegible]
"Where is the captain of this ship." [illegible]

"O here am I," said Captain Ward, "[illegible]
If thou art one of the King's own ships, I press you to pass by."

"I'll tell thee what," says the Rainbow, "[illegible] grief,
That thou should lie upon the sea and rob [illegible]

You will not let our merchantment pass [illegible] before,
Such tidings to our King has come which grieves his heart full sore.

With that the gallant Rainbow, she shot [illegible] pride,
Full fifty good brass pieces, charged on every side.

And yet these gallant mariners, they proved not a pin,
Though they were brass on the outside, brave Ward was steel within.

With that the gallant Rainbow, she shot and shot in vain,
Then left the rovers company and home returned again.

"Our Royal King of England, your ship's returned again;
For Captain Ward he is so strong, he never will be ta'en.

"O everlasting" said our King, "I've lost my children three,
O who would have gone onto the seas and fetched home Ward to me.

The first it was Lord Essex, great Earl of Cumberland,
The second it was Lord Mountjoy, as you shall understand.

The third it was Lord Clifford, from field would never fly,
Who would have gone onto the sea and fetched home Ward to me."

With the exception of the obvious corruptions in the final two stanzas, i.e. Essex and Clifford confused, this text is remarkably faithful to the Pitts broadside. There is the occasioanl hint that some reinforcement may have taken place from the later broadside as when Ward instructs the Rainbow, "If thou art one of the King's own ships, I press you to pass by." Save this we have in George Gray's performance a faithful repetition of a ballad printed originally two hundred and seventy years earlier.

Folksongs that have emerged by the process of selection from lengthy broadside texts are the commonest class and the bulk of the known and accepted repertoire can usually be identified within this group. Two

examples are given here which are [illegible] such transformations have taken place.

The Nightingales Song; Or the [illegible]
Musick, and Maids Recreation.
The Song adviseth Maids to [illegible]
And of a Souldiers Love-suit [illegible]
The Tune of, No, no, not I; Or, [illegible] Souldier

As I went forth
one Sun-shining Day,
A dainty young Couple
were gathering May:
The one a fair Damosel,
of beauty most clear,
The other a Souldier,
as it doth appear

With kisses and compliments
to her he said,
Good morrow sweet honey
thou well favour' Maid,
I think my self happy
I met with you here
As you are a Virgin
And I a Souldier.

And now if you pleased be,
I will you bring,
Whereas you shall hear
the sweet Nightingal sing:
With other rare pastimes,
my skill shall be try'd
If you will walk with me,
to the merry green-wood side.

The Maid seem' unwilling
and said she'd be gone,
And yet she was loath
for to leave him alone,
At last she resolved
her self to this thing,
To stay till they heard,
the sweet Nightingal sing

Sweet Sir (said the Damosel
If you will do so,
Then hand in hand with you,
along I will go,
It is recreation
for maids in the Spring,
To see flowers grow,
and hear Nightingale sing.

And having thus spoken,
together they went,
Unto a merry green-wood,
where some time they spent,
In walking and talking,
of many an odd thing,
But yet could not hear
the Nightingale sing.

A dainty clear river,
was running them by,
A Bank of sweet Violets,
and Primroses nigh:
Then said the young Gallant,
sit down by this spring,
We'l here take our pleasure
till the Nightingal sing

He struck up his musick,
unto a high strain,
And plaid the tune over
again and again:
Gramercy brave Souldier,
(quoth she that did bring
Me hither to the rare
Nightingal sing.

Amongst the sweet flowers
they straightway sat down,
The young-man in kindness
gave her a green Gown,
He also presented
to her a Gold Ring,
'Cause she should stay there,
till the sweet Nightingal sing

And having thus done,
he took her about the middle,
And forth of his Knap-Sack,
he pull'd a rare fiddle,
And plaid her a fit,
made the Valies to ring,
Oh now, (quoth she) I hear
the Nightingal sing.

Then now said the Souldier
'tise time we give ore,
Nay prithee (quoth she) play
me one Lesson more:
I like both the setting,
and tuning the string,
Far better than hearing
the Nightingal sing

Their sport [illegible]
then homewards [illegible]
Each one thought [illegible]
to be very well [illegible]
It was quoth [illegible]
a very rare [illegible]
Whilst thus [illegible]
to hear the Nightingal sing.

At last with a deer sight,
these words [illegible]
I pray three good Souldier,
wilt thou marry me:
Else my hasty pleasure,
sweet Sorrow will bring,
And I may repent I heard
the Nightingal sing.

Oh no, quoth the Souldier,
I may not do so,
Along with my Captain,
to morrow I must go,
But if I come this way,
again the next Spring,
We'll walk once more to hear
the sweet Nightingal sing.

You Maids of the City,
and Country that be
Addicted to pleasure,
take warning by me:
Let no flattering young-men,
tempt ye to this thing,
To go to the wood to hear
the Nightingal sing

Take bargain before hand,
for fear you miscarry,
Know whether or no they are
minded to marry:
If I had been wise, and
had done such a thing,
I need no repent I heard
the Nightingal sing.

Printed for J. Wright, J. C(lark) (W.) Thackeray and T. Passinger.

The Nightingales Song has frequently been collected from [illegible] England and North America but for one reason or another collectors have tended to omit it from their published findings. It does appear to have a consistent form which is given below.

Nightingales Sing.

As I was a-walking one morning in May,
O there I saw a young couple a-making of hay,
O and one was a pretty maid and her beauty shone clear,
And the other was a soldier in the bold Grenadiers.

A-walking and a-talking and a-walking together
They went arm in arm along the road like sister and brother,
Then they sat themselves down by a clear crystal stream,
O all for to see the flowers grow and hear the nightingales sing.

Then with kisses and compliments he took her round the middle,
And out of his knapsack he drawed forth a fiddle,
And he played her such a fine tune, it made the valleys to ring,
O 'tis hark now says the fair maid - how the nightingales sing.

O come then, said the soldier, it is time to give o'er,
O no, said the fair maid we will have one tune more,
I do so like the music and the tune of your string,
I do like to see the flowers grow and hear the nightingales sing.

Then come, said the fair maid, will you marry me,
O no said the soldier, that never can be,
For I have a wife in my own counterie,
And she is the sweetest thing that you ever did see.

O no, said the soldier, that never can be,
For I have got a wife there and children I've three,
But if ever I come this way, it will be in the Spring,
I will come and watch the flowers grow and hear the nightingales sing. 35

Many versions all closely following the above form, are to be found among the Sharp Mss.[36] and also in the Hammond brothers' collection.[37] In

addition the present writer has frequently found the [illegible] with the second verse given above being employed as a [illegible] texts have been published by Purslow,[38] Sharp,[39] [illegible][40] and [illegible][41] amongst others. Strangely enough there appears to be a [illegible] broadside copies and apart from one sheet printed by Henry [illegible] above traditional pattern, the only broadside detected is that issued by the Ballad Partners about 1683; the unique copy being in the Pepys collection.

More drastically revised than The Nightingale's Song is a ballad written originally by Thomas Lanfiere of Watchet in Somerset between 1678 and 1680. At first called The Good Fellow's Resolution, the ballad is now better known as The Wild Rover. Lanfiere's text was the second of two songs that he had written on the same theme and in the same style. The Good Fellows Consideration was printed by Phillip Brooksby,[42] a competitor of the ballad partnership, and it may have been composed by Lanfiere as an attempt to avoid being thought a rogue who sells the same copyright to more than one publisher. Despite their similarity, they were directed to different tunes; Brooksby's text to Hey boys, up go we, and the Ballad Partners' version to The Plow-man's Honour made known. The latter tune appears to have been lost but the former is given in Simpson with a multitude of references testifying to its great popularity in the seventeenth century.[43]

The full text of The Good Fellow's Resolution is in thirteen stanzas of six lines with a two-line chorus.[44] Verses 2,4,5,6 and 11 are omitted here, there being a great deal of repetition.

The Good Fellow's Resolution;

Or,

The Bad Husband's return from his Folly,

Being a Caveat for all Spend-Thrifts to beware of the Main Chance.

Here in this ballad you may see,
The vain-ness of bad Husbandry:
Good advice here is to be found,
The which may save you many a Pound. By. T. Lanfiere.

To the Tune of, The Plow-man's Honour made [illegible].
Drink t'other Bowl, I'le follow thee.

I have been a bad Husband this full fifteen yeer,
And have spent many pounds in good ale and strong beer,
I have Ranted in Ale-houses day after day,
But now I'le beware, and have a great care,
Lest at the last Poverty falls to my share:
For now I will lay up my Money in store,
And I never will play the bad Husband no more.

Sometimes in the Ale-house a week I would sit,
If I with Good-fellows did chance for to meet,
Until all my money was wasted and gone,
Then it was high time to turn out and go home:
My proud Hostiss she would look scornful on me,
And tell me she did not love such Company:
But now &c.

My Landladys they would seem loving to be,
If that they saw money was plenty with me;
But if that I had none at all for to show,
They would look coy on me, as if they did not me know:
And if so be that I was never so dry,
To trust me a Flaggon some whores would deny;
But now &c.

I went to an Hostiss where I us'd to resort,
And I made her believe that money was short;
I askt her to trust me, but she answered "Nay,
Enough of such Guests I can have every day."
Then quoth she, "Pray, forbear, there's no staying here,
Except you have money, you shall have no beer."
But now &c.

I pull'd out a handful of money straightway,
And shew'd it unto her, to hear what she'd say;
Quoth she, "You shall have Beer and ale of the best,
You are kindly welcome, I did speak but in jest."
"O no, no," said I, "your words I defie,
I'le see you hang'd e're with you I'le spend a penny."
But now &c.

Thus here you may see and observe it full plain,
The Ale-wives and Inn-keepers all are for gain,
If a man on them spends all that e're he hath got,
He shall have no thanks, but be counted a [illegible]
To you they'l seem kind, whilst you can them [illegible],
But when you have spent all, they will change their [illegible]
But now &c.

Then, bad Husbands, of the main chance have a care,
Lest Poverty comes on you e're you are aware;
Take heed how idly you Mone y you spend,
Make much of that little which God doth you lend.
Endeavour always your stock for to raise,
Then of honest people you will have the praise;
Strive for &c.

To conclude, take my counsel, do not it refrain,
You'l find it will be for your profit and gain,
Whilst you are young and lusty strive to get and save,
Then things necessary in old age you'l have:
Be sure do not waste, lest you want at last,
Those that plays in Summer in Winter must fast:
Then learn for to lay up your money in store,
Resolve for to play the bad Husband no more.

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger.

There appears to have been little circulation of this broadside in the eighteenth century and when next it appears it is from the shops of John Pitts and James Catnach. It was then reprinted in its new shortened form by most of the London printers of consequence and by country printers like Harkness of Preston, Pearson of Manchester and Collard of Bristol. This shortened form has been perpetuated in tradition and versions have been collected by Cecil Sharp,[45] George Gardiner[46] and Alfred Williams[47] at the beginning of this century and more recently by Ewan MacColl and the present writer. The text below was collected from Harry Cox of Catfield, Norfolk on June 23rd, 1968, and is typical of the traditional variants

with their close adherance to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

The Wild Rover

I've been a wild rover for many [illegible],
And I've spent all my money in [illegible];
But I'll give it over, my money I'll [illegible],
And Ne'er will I play the wild rover no more.
Nay, no, never; never no more;
Will I play the wild rover, no never no more.

I called at an ale-house I used to frequent,
And began for to tell them my money was spent.
I asked them to trust me, but their answer was, "Nay,
Such beggars as you are, we meet every day."
Nay, no, &c.

I put my hand in my pocket and drew out my gold,
And onto the counter bright guineas I told;
At once I had ale boys and beer of the best,
And all that I fancied; it was only a test.
Nay, no, &c.

If I had the money that I have spent here,
It would brought me a big house, my family to rear.
It would brought me a big house, the best (?in the town,)
It would bought me a big coat to keep my back warm.
Nay, no, &c.

I'll go home to my father and get me a wife,
And I ne'er shall return to this rough, rotten life.
I'll go home to my mother and there I'll remain
And I ne'er shall be called a wild rover again.
Nay, no, never; never no more;
Will I play the wild rover, no never no more.

It is particularly at the close of the song that the folk-singer seems to have created his own moralising ending. Mr. Cox was always very vocal on the subject of the hard life an agricultural worker led in his early days and he was most articulate when speaking with considerable

fondness of his mother and father. Henry Lee of [illegible]

Hampshire gave George Gardiner an alternative ending.

"Oh no," I replied, "that never will be,
I'll see you all nag'd if I spend one pound
For a man that's got money, he may sing and may play,
But a man that's got none must be turn'd out of doors."
Wild rover, wild rover, wild rover no more,
And it's never will I play the wild rover no more.

You should see the land-lady, at ease in her chair,
With ruffles round her wrist, fine curls in her hair;
It's got by our money, boys, that you very well know,
And for to maintain them - we are fools if we do.
Wild rover, wild rover, wild rover no more,
And it's never will I play the wild rover no more.

The next song, The Foggy Dew, presents an example of a ballad having a long printed history though with considerable changes being made during that history, and in addition having a well documented history in traditional usage. In addition, in its most recent guise it has a certain popularity with a much wider audience than is usual with a folk-song.

Whilst examining the manuscript collection of folksongs gathered by Cecil Sharp in England and North America and in the process of editing a selection of texts for publication, [illegible] became intrigued with The Foggy Dew and decided:

> "On account of the variety and confusion of the ms. versions... of the intrinsic merits of the song, of the present popularity of a recent version, and of the [illegible] of its meaning, it may be of interest to consider the song in detail." [48]

His examination of the song was restricted to those texts he found in the Sharp Mss. together with the broadside reprinted in The Common Muse.[49] The resultant essay owes its present day notoriety amongst folklorists to the conclusion he reached that the term 'foggy dew' should be interpreted as 'perpetual chastity'. With his customary arch-humour, A.L. Lloyd was to comment:

> "What is the mysterious 'foggy dew' that so frightens the girl in the song? 'Foggy', we're told, is Middle English for 'coarse rank marsh grass' and so may stand for maiden-head (why?); 'dew' is a familiar folk symbol for chastity (and many things besides); there is a suggestion that the expression is merely a clumsy Anglicization of Irish 'orocedhu' meaning 'darkness, black night', and Robert Graves, always ready to make a bold dash into folklore matters, takes this Irish notion further with the suggestion that the blackness relates to the Black Death..... and to the black dress of nuns. So, there we are: the girl is not terrified of her coarse rank virginity; she is hammering on a convent door begging the nuns to save her from the plague." [50]

Lloyd then offers his own explanation based upon a unique text from the north of England which interpolates 'bogle bo' or 'ghost' as an alternative to the foggy dew. Most recently, Frank Purslow, in reprinting a version from the Hammond Mss., has suggested the obvious - 'foggy dew' means foggy dew.[51] With "due respect" to A.L. Lloyd, he in unconvinced of the mock-ghostly 'bogle bo' and will conjecture no further than to suggest that the song originated in Ireland - no doubt because of the "distressingly Irish characteristics" that he is so fond of detecting in English folksongs.[52] All

these various theories from the ingenious Graves to the [illegible] due to their exponents having regarded too small a [illegible] variants. By a close comparison of both broadside and [illegible] possible to detect the various stages of probable [illegible] of this ballad and to venture an explanation for the [illegible]

The earliest extant text is a broadside ballad of [illegible], contained in the fifth volume of Samuel Pepys' collection of ballads and it appears to have been overlooked by subsequent ballad students and folk-lorists alike:

(Text A)

THE
Fright'ned York-shire Damosel,
OR,
Fears Dispers'd by Pleasure.
To the Tune of, I met with a Country Lass, &c.
Licensed according to Order.

(1)

When first I began to Court
and pritty young Maids to Wooe
I could not win the Virgin Fort
but by the Bogulmaroo.

(2)

I Kiss'd her in Summer time,
and in the cold Winter too;
At last I took her in the Prime
but by the Bogulmaroo.

(3)

My Love she was going one Night
to Bed as she us'd to do,
When on the Stairs she saw a Spright
it was the Bogulmaroo

(4)

She came to my Chamber-door,
and cou'd not tell what to do;
But straight began to weep full sore,
for fear of Bogulmaroo

(5)

At last she [illegible]
tho' still her [illegible]
For looking back [illegible]
O cruel Bogulmaroo

(6)

She started and [illegible]
and close to [illegible]
Her eyes she durst not backward cast,
for fear of Bogulmaroo.

(7)

But into my Bed she crept,
and did her Sorrows tell,
She wring her hands and sadly wept,
for fear of Bogulmaroo

(8)

I turn'd about to the Maid,
as Lovers are wont to do;
And bid her be no more afraid
of th'Ugly Bogulmaroo

(9)

I Kiss'd and Embrac'd her then,
our pleasures they were not few;
We lay abed next day till Ten,
for fear of Bogulmaroo.

(10)

My Love she was Dismay'd,
to think of what she had done,
Arise, said I, be not afraid,
the Bogulmaroo is gone.

(11)

I Marry'd her the next day,
and did her pleasures renew;
Each night we spend in Charming Play,
for all the Bogulmaroo.

(12)

I ne'r said a word of the [illegible]
nor never intend to do;
But ev'ry time she [illegible]
I think of Bogulmarus.

Printed and Sold by J. Millet, next door to the [illegible], in Little Britain. 1689.

The above sheet, printed throughout in Roman or 'white-letter' was evidently printed before Millet formed his partnership with Thackeray and Filbourne. It was not taken into the repertoire of these partners or their successors and by the time the ballad re-appeared upon a broadside, the corruption to 'foggy dew' had taken place, presumably in traditional usage. Two extant copies exist without imprint of ca.1775 or possibly a little earlier.[53] They may well belong to the stock of slips issued in profusion by the Aldermary churchyard press since the paper stock used and the blocks employed as illustrations are identical with that shop's practice.

(Text B)

The Batchelor Brave

When I was a batchelor brave,
I kept a roaring trade,
And all that me delighted was,
In kissing and courting a pretty maid;
I courted her a long summer's night,
and part of the morning too,
And every time that she smil'd on me
Made me think of the foggy dew.

This fair maid came to my bed-side,
Where I lay fast asleep,
This fair maid came to my bed-side,
And bitterly did weep;
She wring her hands and tore her hair,
And cry'd, what shall I do,
I said fair maid step into bed
Out of the foggy dew.

(3) All the fore part of the night,
We did both sport and play,
And all the latter part of the night
She slept in my arms till day;
And when she awoke out of her sleep,
She cry'd, what have I done,
I said, fair maid, be not afraid,
For the foggy dew is gone.

(4) O when shall I see you again my dear,
O when shall I see you again,
When oaken leaves are gone from the trees,
And young ones come in their room;
O that will be too long my dear,
O that will be too long
You must not tarry so long my dear
Down among the foggy dew,

(5) I took this fair maid and marry'd her,
And she prov'd a loving wife,
I took this fair maid and marry'd her,
When a lov'd her as dear as my life;
I never t(o)ld her of her faults,
No nor never intend so to do,
But every time she smiles on me
Makes me think of the foggy dew.

(6) The first child that we had,
It made us for to smile,
The second child we had,
It made us tarry awhile;
But when another we had,
Another, another to that again,
It made us by and by do so no more,
Till the foggy due is gone.

The second slip (HA-96) has the following variant readings:

Bb. 1.4 'lass' for 'maid'.
3.4 'arms' for 'arm'.
3.6 'what shall I do' for 'what have I done'.
5.2 'lovling' for 'loving'.
6.8 'dew was gone' for 'due is gone'.

The third broadside form was established c.18[illegible] by [illegible] and his rival, James Catnach.[54] It remained the standardised form throughout the nineteenth century and other copies were issued throughout the last three decades of the century by Henry Parker Such. The same form exists amongst the slips in the Nottingham University Library collection. This latter issue being that reprinted by Pinto and Rodway in The Common Muse.[55]

(Text C) Foggy Dew

(1) When I was a batchelor early and young,
I followed the weaving trade
And all the harm ever I done,
Was courting a servant maid
I courted her the summer season
And part of the winter too
And many a night I rolled her in my arms,
All over the foggy dew.

(2) One night as I law in my bed,
As I laid fast asleep,
There came a pretty fair maid,
And most bitterly did weep,
She wept, she mourned she tore her hair,
Crying, alas what shall I do,
This night I'm resolved to come to bed with you
For fear of the Foggy Dew.

(3) It was in the first part of the night
we both did sport and play.
And in the latter part of the night,
She slept in my arms til day.
When broad day-light did appear
She cried I am undone,
Hold your tongue you foolish girl
The Foggy dew is done.

(4) Suppose that we should have a child
It would cause us to smile
Suppose that we should have another,
It would make us laugh awhile,
Suppose that we should have another,
And another one too,
It would make you leave off your foolish dreams
And think no more of the Foggy [illegible]

(5) I love this young girl dearly
I loved her as my life,
I took this girl and married her,
And made her my lawful wife,
I never told her of her faults,
Nor never intend to (d)o.
But every time she winks or smiles
I think of the Foggy dew.

Pitts, Printer, Wholesale Toy and Marble Warehouse,
6 Great St. Andrew Street 7 Dials.

The issue by Catnach (M10-388) is identical to the above issue and bears the imprint: J. Catnach, Printer, 2 Monmouth-Court, Sold by Sharman, Cambridge. It follows Pitts' usage to the extent of capitalizing 'Foggy dew' as shown above. In this latter respect, the Nottingham University Library copy is the same. A few minor compositorial changes were made when Pitts issued the song again later (c.1835-40?); 'Foggy' became 'foggy', 4.7 'tricks' became 'trick' and the imprint altered to:

> Printed and sold by J. Pitts, Whole Toy and Marble Warehouse, 6, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials. Sold also by T. Goodwin, 204, White Chapel Road, near the London Hospital.

Amongst the broadsides printed in Ireland that formerly belonged to the Irish folklorist, Thomas Crofton Croker, are two issued at the early part of the nineteenth century. Both commence "When I was a bachelor, airy and young" which may explain the odd first line of the Pitts issue. In

other respects however they are dissimilar to any of [illegible]: or for that matter any of the traditional recoveries, [illegible] has no extant recoveries from oral tradition in Ireland, [illegible] to take the Irish broadsides into consideration here.

Unlocated copies of broadsides printed in London include the following which appear in the printed catalogues issued by the various firms named:

T. Birt, 39 Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials. Sheet No. [illegible] in his catalogue of 1836.

W.S. Fortey, 2 & 3 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials. On Issue catalogue sheet No. X of c.1860.

H.P. Such, 177 Union Street, Borough. Sheet No. 40 in his catalogue of c.1860.

In addition a number of provincial printers list the [illegible] amongst their catalogued sheets:

W. & T. Fordyce, 48, Dean Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. On p.14 of the catalogue issued between 1837 and 1840.

John Sanderson, 148 Cannongate, Edinburgh. In his list, 'More favourite Songs', catalogue of c.1880, p.7 and later catalogue of c.1900, p.12.

T. Pearson, 6 Chadderton Street, Manchester. Sheet No. 351 in his catalogue of 1869-72.

The form of the broadside issued by the above printers can only be conjectured. It is almost certain that the London printers followed the example of Pitts and Catnach. Since Fordyce and Pearson sheets are generally similar to the contemporary issues of Henry Such one can surmise that they too followed the London pattern. There does exist a Durham printing of 1839 which deviates significantly from the general nineteenth century pattern. This is the issue of George Walker Jr., of Sadler Street, Durham:[56]

(Text D) The Foggy Dew.

(1) Once I was a young man, and a courting I did go,
A courting of a fair maid I had most pleasant play,
A courted her long winters nights and summer days also,
At length she fell into my arms, afraid of the foggy dew.

(2) One night as lay in my bed, [illegible]
My love she came to my bedside and she wept,
She wept she crept she tore her hair, saying alas what shall I do;
Step into bed my pretty maid, [illegible]

(3) At the beginning of the night we did noth sport and play,
And all the latter end of that night, she lay in my arms till day,
She lay in my arms till the break of day till the small bird sweetly snug,
Then said I arise and go thy way, for the foggy dew is gone.

(4) About six months or after that I took her for my wife
I cuddled her I loved her as dear as my life,
And all those things she told me of, which I never meant to do,
But when she sat and smiled in my face I though of the foggy dew.

(5) There are some that marry for riches, and some do marry for land
But I did marry for nothing but the help of a poor man's hand;
For riches are but vanity and beauty will decay,
But if love is pur it will endure, till death takes life away.

Walker, Printer, Durham. 130

This record of printed broadside activity through a period of one hundred and fifty years would indicate that we have the following plot development and corruption.

A man courts a girl and wishes to seduce her. In order to accomplish this he successfully employs the device of an accommodating ghost which frightens her into his bed. Having satisfied his ego or lust, he marries the girl and they raise a family. He makes sure never to disclose to her, the deception he employed.

During the course of oral transmission, a transformation has taken place and the dialect word 'bogulmaroo' or a cognate term has given way to the corruption 'foggy dew' in text B. Here we are presented with a different situation in which the device of the frightening figure is no longer apparent

and no other reason for her presence in his room is [illegible] possibility that she is distracted by love. The [illegible] four of text B may be that she fears pregnancy but [illegible] immediately this fear, if such is inferred, is [illegible]. [illegible] suggests in its closing four lines a wry acceptance [illegible] have been overcome by his young wife's wiles. [illegible] is willing to accept his lot. Text C presents us with a reason for her visit to his bedside - fear of the foggy dew. No meaning other than the obvious is offered in an explicit manner for the term 'foggy dew'. The lines explaining the growth of a family precede the marriage in this variant and it may be conjectured that fear of pregnancy has forced her to take extreme action - it will be noted that in the opening stanza, before her appearance at his bedside, he had "rolled her" in his arms "all over the foggy dew". The Walker D text has the appearance of being a corruption of C in which the pregnancy and later children are expunged to be replaced with platitudes in the form of a familiar commonplace 'floating' verse that occurs in many lyric folksongs.

To support this flow of transformation one would hope that the available records of oral currency would substantiate the three clear patterns and thus give credence to the hypothesis that A has evolved to B which in turn has changed to C or alternatively, A has given rise to two different streams, B and C. The available sources do in fact support the establishment of a clear taxonomy.

We have already mentioned the text discovered by A.L. Lloyd which mentions a ghost-like figure called the 'bogle bo.' Amongst the papers of the Newcaslte-upon-Tyne antiquary John Bell now in the King's College Library, Newcastle, are a group of song texts that he wrote down ca.1810-15. Many of these were not included in his collection Rhymes of the Northern Bards[57] nor in Northumberland Minstrelsy[58] which made much use of his manuscripts. One

such piece is entitled "The bogle bo".

(Text Ab)

(1) When I was in my prenticeship and learning [illegible],
I courted my master's daughter, [illegible] from God.
I courted her both summer days and [illegible],
But I could never her favour win till I named the bogle bo.

(2) Day being gone and night coming on, my neighbour to [illegible] a sheet,
And straight into her room he went just like a wandering spirit.
She running up and down, not knowing where to go,
But right into my bed she went for fear of the bogle bo.

(3) So my true love and me both fell fast asleep,
But ere the morn at fair daylight, sore sore did she weep.
Sore sore did she weep, sore sore did she mourn,
But ere she rose and put on her clothes, the Bogle bo was gone.

(4) You've done the thing to me last night, the thing you cannot shun
You've taen from me my maidenhead, and I am quite undone.
You've taen from me my maidenhead, and brought my body low,
But, kind sir, if you'll marry me, I will be your jo.

(5) Now he's married her and taen her hame and it was but his part.
She's proved to him a loving wife and joy of all his heart.
He never told her of the joke, nor ne'er intends to do.
But aye when his wife smiles on him, he minds the Bogle bo.

Thoug. chronologically later than the Millet broadside of 1689, this text is the fullest and most explicitly developed variant extant. The vagaries of oral transmission being what they are, it is not an uncommon occurrence to find this situation. The Bell variant Ab has a tightness of construction that is altogether absent from any other version. Apprentices were customarily housed with their master's family and thus the plot is freed of the improbability of a young distracted female wandering through the night to seek the protection of her boy-friend's bed. The ghostly figure is explained as a wilful prank and the standardized closing lines more closely and explicitly relate to the story than in any other version we have as yet

uncovered. If this version derives from a printed text [illegible] yet to be found; on the other hand there is a [illegible] lines which suggests some re-writing if the text [illegible].

To justify the case for regarding the 'bogle bo' [illegible] variants as primal texts from which the 'foggy dew' [illegible], we could usefully employ the evidence of other oral texts. These do exist and it is the failure of previous commentators on the ballad to look outside of the comparatively sparse English records for evidence that has largely destroyed the credibility of their hypotheses.

During the nineteen-thirties in America, a great deal of attention was concentrated upon the recovery of native folk-culture. Much of this work was financed through the Federal Writer's Project and some funding was forthcoming from university departments of English Literature. The result was a plethora of publications dealing with the folksongs found to be in use in the various States of the eastern-sea-board and deep-south of America. Four collectors found versions of songs with titles linguistically related to the 'bogle bo'. In March, 1934, Professor Alton C. Morris of the University of Florida visited the nearby small town of Newberry to record the repertoir of Mrs. G.A. Griffin. At once Mrs. Griffin informed her visitor, "I can start singing now and sing until tomorrow morning and not repeat myself". She apparently made good her claim and when she came to 'The Bugaboo" she commented;

> "This song isn't so bad; it's a good song; just the words ain't so nice. But if you want it, I'm going to give it to you anyhow. It's just about the bugaboo, and everybody knows about that."

Unfortunately the collector does not appear to have pressed the point to ask just what it was everybody knew - the song is not exactly clear on this point.

Text Ac)

(1) All the harm I've ever done.
Was follow the richest trade;
All the harm I've ever done,
Was courting a pretty fair maid.

(2) I courted her one summer through,
And part of the winter, too,
And often looked her in the face,
And thought of the bugaboo.

(3) My love, she came to my bedside;
She bid me tears and woe;
My love, she came to my bedside;
She bid me tears and woe.

(4) My love, she came to my bedside
She bid me tears and woe;
"Get in my bed on my bedside."
"I'm afraid of the bugaboo."

(5) All through the first part of the night,
We lay in sport and game;
All through the middle part of the night,
Close in my arms she lay.

(6) All through the latter part of the night
It's cry out less undone;
"Get out of the bed, my pretty little miss,
I'm feared of the bugaboo."

(7) So all through the first part of the year,
My love, she's growing round;
All through the middle part of the year,
She scarcely could set down.

(8) All through the latter part of the year,
She brought me a very fine son;
So you can see as well as I,
What the bugaboo has done.

This text, corrupt as it is, nevertheless exhibits [illegible] ballad students interested in structural analysis. Stanzas [illegible] four show a triple repetition which is so commonly employed in [illegible] narrative ballads. This is a tensioning device which serves to [illegible] the development of the plot, momentarily. Again, stanzas five and six employ a triple incremental repetition which is immediately [illegible] in stanzas seven and eight. These are devices of oral narration yet this example can hardly be said to exhibit the sophisticated narrational [illegible]ness that the best ballad singers employ in performance. Rather do they appear to be the means needed to hold together the remnants of an already incoherent story. Of the four extant American texts this is the only one to hint that the 'bugaboo' is a premeditated device, though it must be said that lines three and four of the second stanza could just be the fortuitous re-positioning of lines which normally would appear at the end of the song. The remaining three variants of 'The Bugaboo' contain no such hint of an overt act of subterfuge though in all of them the girl is frightened by 'the buggerboo', 'the buggery boo', or the familiar 'bugaboo'. A stray text gathered in the Ozark mountain region by Vance Randolph has the figure of 'the boogy boogy boo' but this text is such a drastic revision that it will be commented upon later. Structurally there is very little variance in the three remaining 'bugaboo' texts except that in Thompson's version from New York Co.,[60] the pregnancy motif is omitted altogether. The following, gathered by Josiah Combs from Tom Kelly of Hazard, Perry Co., Kentucky is the most complete text of the series;

(Text Ad)

(1) I am a jolly boatsman
I plainly know the trade;
And all the harm I ever did,
was courting a pretty fair maid.

(2) I courted her long summer day
And winter nights also,
And when I gained her free good will,
I didn't know what to do.

(3) She came unto my bedside,
Where I was lying asleep;
She came unto my bedside,
So bitterly she did weep.

(4) She wept, she mourned, she wrung her hands,
Crying, "Love what shall I do!"
O then she jumped in the bed with me,
For fear of the bugaboo.

(5) All in the first part of that night
We lay in sport and play;
All in the second part of that night
She lay in my arms till day.

(6) The night being done, the day coming on,
"Kind sir, I am undone";
"Arise pretty maid, and don't be afraid,
For the bugaboo is gone."

(7) All in the first part of that year
She looked both slim and pale;
All in the second part of that year
She looked both fresh and gail' (gaily)

(8) All in the third part of that year
She brought to me a son;
Now you can see, as well as I,
What the bugaboo has done.

(9) I took that girl, I married her,
I loved her as my life;
I took that girl, I married her,
She made me a virtuous wife.

(10) I never told her of her faults,
Nor d—— me if I do;
For every time the baby cried,
I think of the bugaboo. 61

Together with the Pepys ballad and the Bell text, the neutral device of these Anglo-American versions is the frightening figure - bogulmaroo, bogle bo, bugaboo etc. In a paper presented to the Folklore Society in 1971 on the subject of 'The Bogeyman',[62] John Widdowson investigated the linguistic connections of those words cognate with BOO and BUG that appear to indicate frightening figures or gestures. Basing most of his findings on the data available in the OED, Widdowson found that the element /bu-/ had three primary connotations in a range of Indo-European languages:

"1. Reference to deities, supernatural beings and other entities inspiring fear and awe.
2. Reference to frightening sounds, perhaps partly onomatopoeic, perhaps based on the root idea of swelling, bulging out etc., for example puff, push, bo/boh, boo, bow in English.
3. Reference to scatological, excremental and other 'taboo' or distasteful areas of usage, e.g. pooh, poop, bogey, boo in English." 63

Used in the sense of "a hobgoblin, ghost, an imaginary object of terror" the bugaboo was found by Wright to be current in Scotland, Ireland, the midland counties of England and in the U.S.A. Bogle on the other hand was restricted in usage to the northern counties of England as well as Scotland and Ireland. As evidence of usage we have Polwart's last Flyting against Montgomery of c.1600; "Rob Stein thou raves, forgetting whom thou matches, / Leave Bogles, Brownies, Gyre-carlings & Gaists,"[64] Ramsey's poem Sandy of 1721; "Or has some boglebo gien ye a fleg,"[65] and most well known, Burns' Tam o' Shanter;

"Tam skelpit on thro' dub and mire,
Despising wind, and rain and fire;
Whiles holding fast his guid blue bonnet;
Whiles crooning o'er some auld Scots sonnet;
Whiles glowring round wi' prudent cares,
Lest bogles catch him unawares;" 66

Other cognates listed by Wright are boggart, boggin, boggle, boggy-bo and bogie.[67] In no case is there any evidence of usage in the third sense

though in tradition are songs with related terms that almost fit the title bill. Thus we have the Beggarman's Song with its phallic 'trimmot';

"I slept in a barn one night in Currabawn,
A shocking wet night it was but I slept until the dawn,
There was holes in the roof and the rain drops coming through,
And the rats and the cats were all playing tink-a-tink.
Who did I waken but the woman of the house,
With her white-spotted apron and her fine gingham blouse;
She began to get excited and all I said was "Boo,
Sure don't be afraid at all, tis only Johnny Dhu".

.... O! I must be going to bed, for it's getting late at night,
The fire's all raked and now 'tis out the light;
For now you've heard the story of my ould rigadoo,
So good-bye and God be with you, from ould Johnny Dhu." 68

Closely related is The Old Settoo in which the settoo is said to be a corruption of 'surtout, Overcoat';

"When night comes on for lodgings we seek,
They put us in the barn us both to sleep,
When I want to frighten her I'll say "Boo ",
And over her I'll shake my old set-too." 69

Very much more explicit is a song originating on an eighteenth century broadside and still found amongst gypsy singers in England. The following version was recorded in 1964 from the singing of Caroline Hughes, the matriarchal head of a large gypsy family from the south-west of England. It was recorded in a lay-by on the Wareham by-pass outside Poole, Dorset and the recording conditions, with holiday traffic passing by, may explain some of the irregularities in the text. Bawdy songs like this are common in early eighteenth century songbooks and are more frequently encountered in the repertoirs of folk-singers than collectors have been willing to admit.

Bandy-mandoo

(1) Now as I was walkin' all up the street,
Who should I meet but a nice young fellow;
I said, "Hello, and how d'ye-do,
Would you like to come and play on my bangy-mandoo?"

Chorus: "Well the bangy-mandoo, pray what is that?"
"It's very smooth, like a pussy cat,
'Tis hairs all round and split in two,
Will you come and have a game on my bangy-mandoo?"

(2) I took her down her father's cellar,
"Have you got a licence to be a whore?"
"O no young man, my fanny's private;
I say's come and have a bang on my bangy-mandoo." etc. etc. 70

Broadside texts appear in the Madden Collection; 'Dewdle Dew', [illegible] and 'Dadalum doo', M5-1321.

A dualistic meaning encompassing both the frightening fear and the sexual taboo of the bugaboo seems doubtful in the context of available variants of The Foggy Dew. Since 'foggy dew' is so obviously a corruption of 'bugaboo' or one of its cognates, perhaps caused by faulty transmission within tradition or, more likely through an unfortunate but ignorant rationalization at the press, it would be improvident at least to support in any way, shape or form the wild etymological associations suggested by James Reeves.

The eighteenth century broadside pattern of The Foggy Dew is followed by three oral variants. Sharp's text, MS W107, observes complete fidelity with the exception of a hiatus after the second stanza, (Broadside v.2, lines 1 - 4) and another after verse eight, (Broadside v.5, lines 5 - 8). In addition to the Sharp text's lacunae, there are two corrupted lines which interested Reeves, who felt them to be an accretion from another source:

Sharp MS W107, (6).	O when shall you come on my dear O when shall you come on When oaken leaves fall off the trees And greener ones come on.
Text B,	O when shall I see you again my dear O when shall...etc.

Reeves felt this corruption to mean ' when will you make me your wife ' but an alternative that is more likely though less romantic is ' when will your next menstrual cycle begin ' — in other words the young man is immediately concerned with the possible consequence of their activities. In spite of having made the observation that these lines were possible accretions, Reeves inconsistently but perceptively allowed that they fitted so well that the text might therefore be the oldest extant, since "it is certainly more akin than the others to a true ballad," by which he presumably meant an old ballad of the Child type. Discovery of the actual broadside source supports his conjecture as to the age of the variant.

The Hammond text included in the Purslow anthology[71] entitled The Foggy Dew, follows the broadside form in all respects but it omits almost four. Peacock's Newfoundland version[72] is likewise short of this one verse but is otherwise in accord with text B. It does however have one sign of a possible connection with text C. In B and in the other traditional texts of this pattern the young man tells us that he takes pleasure in being a 'roaring' boy or of courting a pretty maid.

Text B. .....And all that me deighted was.....
Sharp. .....And all that my delight it was...
Hammond. .....And all that I delighted in.....
but Peacock .....And all the harm that ever I done...

This suggestion of morality is a feature of all texts following the nineteenth century broadside pattern and it is this moral tone, however faint, that typifies the later texts. A simple emphasis in this direction is obtained by reversing the order of the final two verses of text B and making some slight but significant textual amendments. Thus the penultimate verse of Text C;

Suppose that we should have a child....

was the final of Text B;

The first child that we had...

The case is weakened though by the next line in both versions;

It would cause us to smile...

William Stokes of Chew Stoke, Somerset renders this line;

What need have you to fear?

This latter variant reminds the present writer of an occasion when he naively commented to the Rev. J. Bagley of Ely that the country folk around the Ely/Littleport region appeared to have a predilection for songs which involved the motif of seduction and pregnancy leading to marriage. The answer received was that until the thirties, it was common practice amongst simple fens-people to regard infertile marriages with a mixture of pity and scorn, for as one man had explained to him, "You don't buy a mare unless you know

she is in foal or a cow unless you know she can calf." While real attitudes to pregnancy has no direct bearing upon the exposition of 'The Foggy Dew' it does suggest that the changing overt attitudes to sex in the Victorian period may well have caused the switch in tone of text C, and more explicitly, text D even though it is an isolated case.

Harry Cox's version of 'The Foggy Dew' was collected by the present writer on a number of occasions between 1964 and 1970. It had been learnt from his father who probably learnt it from a sheet purchased by his mother at Norwich market. Harry's father could not read but his wife could - an example of effective if not actual literacy. It is a complete version that follows the C text of the widespread nineteenth century broadsides:

(Text Cb)

(1) When I was an old bachelor
I followed the roving trade,
And all the harm that ever I done
I courted a servant maid.
I courted her one summer season
And part of the winter too;
And many a time I rolled my love
All over the foggy dew.

(2) One night when I laid in my bed,
A-taking my balm asleep; i.e. balmy sleep.
This pretty fair maid come to me
And how bitterly she did weep.
She wept, she mourned, she tore her hair,
Saying, "Alas, what shall I do?
For this night I'm resolved to sleep with you
For fear of the foggy dew."

(3) So all the first part of the night
How we did sport and play;
And all the later part of the night
She in my arms did lay;
And when broad day-light did appear,
She cried, "I am undone."
"Oh hold your tongue you silly young girl
For the foggy dew is gone."

(4) "Supposing that you should [illegible]
It would make you laugh and [illegible]
Supposing that you should [illegible]
It would make you think a [illegible]
Supposing that you should have [illegible]
Another, another one too.
It would make you leave off [illegible] your tricks
And think of the foggy dew."

(5) I loved that girl with all my heart,
Loved her as I loved my life.
And in the early part of the year
I made her my lawful wife.
I never told her of her faults,
Yet never intend to do.
Yet many a time as she winks and smiles
I think of the foggy dew.

William Stokes' set of the song is similar to Cb; it has just a few more deviations from the Pitts broadside (C) than Mr. Cox's but these are inconsequential. Sharp Ms 297 is cut-down version with one manjor change;

(2) Last night as I lay on my bed
I dreamed of a sweet pretty maid
Last night as I lawy on my bed
She came to my bedside....etc.

John Voke of Wendip, Somerset has here rationalized the action to a dream thus softening the 'immorality' of the piece. The remaining English texts are all closely allied to C but in various states of disrepair due to lapses of memory. The Sharp text from the Southern Appalachians[73] is structurally similar in its sequence of plot details though it owes much to the 'Bogaboo' tradition and is clearly a hybrid form.

William Stokes' text caused Reeves to make the assumption that none of Sharp's collected texts were derived from broadsides. He reached this conclusion based on the minor variations of textual form and it must be said that his judgement is most unsound. Had he in fact ever engaged in listening to the several renditions of a single song by one singer he would know that

absolute adherence to a single textual form is unusual in all but the most gifted of singers. Certainly the presence of minor textual variations can never be the guide to origins - it is the structural unfolding of the narrative that must be the arbiter. An authoritive declaration that any variant of a ballad is derived from a particular source will always be suspect unless those sources can be supplied and authenticated by the original singer. It can be said that the availability of standardized texts in the form of broadsides, together with a record of consistency of form in oral circulation does demonstrate at the very least, a reinforcement by print. Where no such availability of printed text exists then we have to assume and expect a fragmentation of form as is clearly demonstrated here from the American examples.

The remaining examples of The Foggy Dew are isolates in that they represent deviations that have no continuity. One exception which is closest to the C form of usage is Vance Randolph's "C" text,[74] 'The boogy, boogy, boo', which has clearly influenced the modern, commercial form of the song with its uncharacteristic chorus and its vulgar innuendo.

(Text E)

(1) I am a bach'lor and I live with my son,
I work at the copper's trade,
The only thing I ever did wrong
Was to woo that pretty maid.

ch. I wooed her in the summer time,
And part of the winter too,
"Tumble into bed, pretty maid," I said,
"And I'll hide you from the Boogy, Boogy, Boo."

(2) One night she come to my bedside,
Her arms round my neck she threw,
She wept, she cried, she dern near died,
My God, what could I do?

(3) When I look into my son's eyes
I dream of the pretty fair maid,
How I wooed her in the summer time
And part of the winter too.

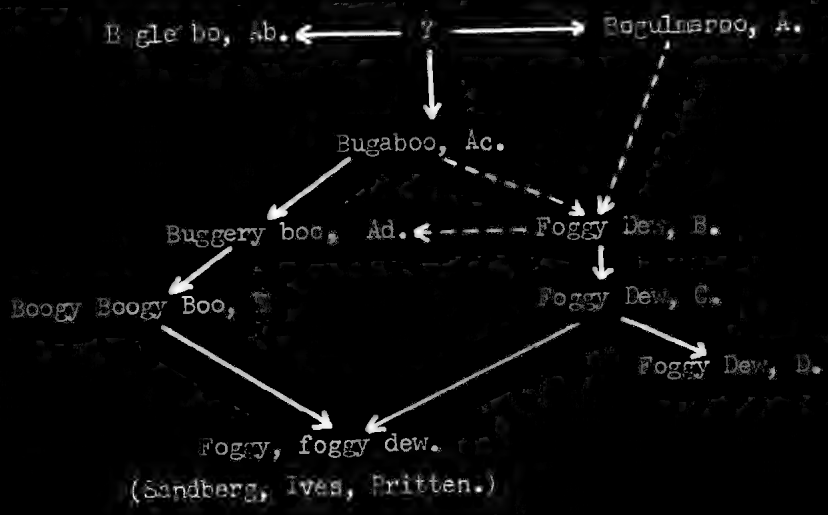
This version was adapted by Sandberg and later Burl Ives [illegible] chorus to;

I wooed her in the summer time,
And part of the winter too.
Then I pulled her into bed and I covered up her head
Just to save her from the foggy, foggy dew.

From Burl Ives' Songbook it apparently travelled to a quiet Suffolk inn from where a friend obtained the text that Benjamin Britten turned into a 'folk-song setting'. A recording made of this setting by Peter Pears was, according to Reeves, banned from use in broadcasting by the B.B.C.

From bogulmaroo to foggy, foggy dew is a tortuous path yet the way is sign-posted by printed texts. The word 'dew' may have symbolic meanings in folk poetry but these are not easily reduced to 'chastity', and 'dabbling in the dew' may mean a promiscuous romp in the long grass and 'foggy' mean coarse rank grass; it remains doubtful however if one can interpret on sound etymological principles, 'foggy dew' as 'perpetual chastity'. More likely the singers thought of 'foggy dew' in the same terms as Harry Cox; "Foggy dew? ...why it's squit!.....might mean the dark though...."

The 'family-tree' of the ballad may be expressed in the following simplified model. Even this model suggests some complex inter-relationships that would be even more involved if we were able to discover the whole story.



Notes

1. Journal of the Folk-Song Society, No. 35 (1931), introduction, p.[illegible]

2. At this time, Mr. Cox lived on Potters Heigham, a small village near Sutton but further away than his later home in Catfield. 'The Cardinal' was demolished a few weeks before Mr. Cox's death, a victim of Sidney Mann's programme of 'rationalization'. Moeran collected from other singers in the district, many of then informants of Barry Cox. The former's contributions to the Journal of the Folk-Song Society are therefore of particular interest since we are able to gauge the fidelity of transmission between singers.

3. Burstow, Henry., Reminiscences of Horsham, 1911.
An American folk-singer's entire repertoire from her ballet-book has recently been reprinted. See, A Heritage of Songs, by Carrie B. Grover, Norwood Editions, Norwood, Pa., 1973.

4. Child, No. 287.

5. Bagford Ballads, I.65.

6. Barry, Phillips, Fannie H. Eckstorm, and Mary W. Smyth, British Ballads from Maine. New Haven, 1929, p.347.

7. Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads in the Library of the University of Glasgow. Glasgow, 1971. No. 108 (p.164).

8. Madden Collection, M1-304.

9. ibid., M1-306 and 307.

10. ibid., M1-309; 310 and 311.

11. ibid., M1-308.

12. ibid., M18-973 and Cecil Sharp's Book of Broadsides - 2062., R. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.

13. Euing Collection. op.cit.,

14. Pepys Ballads, IV, 202.

15. Bagford. op.cit., Also Child, V. 144-5.

16. STC.6184.

17. ibid.,

18. Madden Collection, M1-306.

19. ibid., M1-309.

20. Cecil Sharp's Book of Broadsides - 2062. .89.

21. Bronson, Bertrand Harris. The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads. Vol.IV, pp.363-68.

22. ibid., p.363.

23. ibid., p.364. W.H. Barrett's text may well be [illegible]. In The Story of Minstrelsy by Edmondstoune Duncan, London, 1907; Duncan gives details of a book by Barrett published in 1[illegible] (actually 1889 though often dated in parenthesis, 1891) by Novello. It was Fifty-Four Folk airs to Broadside Ballads and no trace can be found of it in any catalogue. However, English Folk-Songs by W.H. Barrett, contains fifty-four songs - all of them being commonly found broadside texts.

24. ibid., p. 365.

25. ibid., p. 364-5.

26. ibid., p.366-7.

27. ibid., p. 367.

28. ibid., p. 368.

29. Gardiner Mss. H.241 and H.613.

30. "A visit to Harry Cox" in Folk Review, Vol.2, No.4, p.8.

31. Elwes, Winefriede and Richard Elwes. Gervas Elwes - The Story of his Life. London, 1935, p.163.

32. Grainger Mss. No. 113.

33. Library of Congress, Music Division - Archive of Folk Song. Disc. No. 23, AFS4348 A1 and A2. Grainger cylinders, Nos. 37 and 38.

34. Pepys Ballads, IV.41. A version in the Rawlinson Collection at the Bodleian Library suggests that R. Clymsall was the author. See Rawlinson A to 566, fol.67. If this is correct, then the ballad is some years older than this printed text.

35. Collected by the present writer from Mr. A.E. Feltwell of Southery, Norfolk in 1966.

36. Sixteen versions; eight from the Appalachians and eight from Somerset. For texts see W3/472; W4/704; W7/1128; W8/1437-8; W16/2654; W17/2896 and W17/2944.

37. Hammond's Mss. D.138.

38. Purslow, Frank. Marrow Bones - English Folk Songs. London, 1965, p.60.

39. Sharp, Cecil. English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, Edited by Maud Karpeles. London, 1932, 2 Vols. Vol.2, pp.192-44.

40. Stubbs, Ken. The Life of a Man. London, 1970, pp.16-17.

41. O'Shaughnessy, Patrick. More Folk Songs from Lincolnshire; London, 1971, pp.8-13. Mr. O'Shaughnessy's detailed notes direct the reader to thirteen traditional variants.

42. Ewing Collection; No.133 (p.206).

43. Simpson, Claude M. The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music. Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 1966. pp.[illegible].

44. Roxburghe Collection, II. 200. (Roxburghe Ballads, ed. Chappell, vi. 343-5).

45. Sharp Mss. M1/114 with M2/182 and M13/2604.

46. Gardiner Mss. Hp.346.

47. Williams Mss. Wt.476 (Swindon Reference Library MS.411).

48. Reeves, James., The Idiom of the People. London, 1958, p.45.

49. Pinto, Vivian De Sola, and Allan Edwin Rodway., The Common Muse. London, 1957, pp.577-8.

50. Lloyd, A.L., Folk Song in England, London, 1967, p.213.

51. Purslow, Frank., The Foggy Dew, London, 1974, p.109.

52. ibid., p.109 and The Wanton Seed, London, 1968, p.1, by the same editor.

53. Madden Collection; M4-95 and 96.

53b. ibid., M9-232 and 391.

54. ibid., M10-388 and Harmsworth Collection, Res.b. 1943/123.

55. op.cit., p.577-8.

56. ibid.,

57. Bell, John., Rhymes of Northern Bards. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1812. Reprinted, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971.

58. Bruce, J. Collingwood, and John Stokoe. Northumbrian Minstrelsy. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1882. Reprinted, Pennsylvania, 1965.

59. Southern Folklore Quarterly, No. 8 (1944), pp.191-2.

60. Thompson, Harold W., Body, Boots and Britches, New York, 1939, pp.421-2.

61. Combs, Josiah H., Folk-Songs of the Southern United States. Ed. by D.K. Wilgus, Austin, Texas, 1967. pp.183-4.

62. Widdowson, John. "The Bogeyman: Some Preliminary Observations on Frightening Figures." in Folklore, Vol. 82 (Summer 1971), pp.89-115.

63. ibid., p.110.

64. anon. A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems both Ancient and Modern. Part III. Edinburgh, 1711. p.27. Reprinted in Watson's Choice Collection...The Three Parts, 1706, 1709, 1711, in one volume. Norwood, Pa., 1973.

65. Ramsay, Allan.

66. Burns, Robert., The Works of. Edited by The [illegible] and William Motherwell, Esq., 5 vol. Glasgow, 1834. [illegible]

67. Wright J. (Ed.) English Dialect Dictionary, Oxford, 1895-1904.

68. O Locklainn, Colm., More Irish Street Ballads. Dublin, 1965, pp.[illegible].

69, ibid., pp.230-1.

70. Dubbing from the collection of Ewan MacColl.

71. Purslow - op.cit., p.31.

72. Peacock, Kenneth., Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, 3 vols. Ottawa, 1965. Vol.2. pp.518-9.

73. Sharp - Southern Appalachians, op.cit., Vol.II, p.174.

74. Randolph Vance., Ozark Folksongs, 4 vols. Columbia, Missouri, 1946-50. Vol. I, p.396.

Chapter Four: A sketch of collecting activities in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The collection and study of English folksongs has evolved through three clear stages; the literary, the musical and the folkloristic. Initially those involved were ballad editors like Percy, Ritson, Evans, Dixon and Bell, whose intentions were essentially literary and antiquarian.[1] The relative importance of gathering together both the text and airs of folksongs occurred only to Ritson,[2] though even he had little or no conception of what distinguished a traditional folksong from a popular, play-house or national song by Gay, Arne, Hook or Purcell. There was at this stage, a concentration upon manuscripts and fugitive printed sources, especially the antique productions of at least two centuries earlier. Ballad collecting as we now understand it, just did not happen and such recoveries as we do have from this period, (1760-1840), are fortuitous survivals; the log-books of merchant ships,[3] farm-record books,[4] common-place books kept by farmers, labourers, prisoners[5] and the like.

Following this phase, there were the first signs of an interest in the songs as sung; in the Reverend John Broadwood's little sheaf of Sussex Songs[6] that he meticulously recorded precisely (or as nearly precisely as notation would allow) in the manner of performance. For forty years the folksong was one of many artefacts to be noted by the army of amateur local historians and antiquarians who concentrated their efforts at this time upon village, town and county histories and bibliographies. When it came to recording the narrative verse of the country, they preferred the local dialect poetry and paid mere lip-service to the peasantry's traditional ballads. Exceptions are the works of John Harland in Lancashire, Ingledew in Yorkshire, Worth in Devon and Cornwall, Bell in Northumberland and Llewellyn Jewitt in Derbyshire.[7]

The new pre-occupation with local history and archaeological remains presented an ideal opportunity to found the Folklore Society and the success of this society owes much to the efforts of hundreds of keen local historians who forwarded their snippets of information regarding local lore and custom. In every other country that has founded and kept alive a folklore society or a national archive for folklore, folksongs, dances and festive drama have formed an important part of the archival recoveries. In England this was not the case and the reason is to be found in the attitudes of those pre-eminently involved at the time. The Folklore Society was and to an extent, still is, oriented towards the new science of social-anthropology. It was found that the lore contained within the narrative forms of folktale, myth and migratory legend were of a more obviously related significance than the wide subject matter of songs and ballads. The latter were therefore neglected to the long-standing cost of folklore studies in England. At the same time a group of musicians and musical historians had become aware of, and enamoured by folksongs, or more specifically, the music of folksongs. With the exception of Sabine Baring Gould,(a dilettante antiquarian) the efforts of this group, including Frank Kidson, Lucy Broadwood, William Alexander Barrett and Fuller Maitland; were concentrated upon the notation 'in the field', of folksong airs, with their texts so long as proprieties were not compromised. Their work commenced around 1875 and they were overwhelmed with the quantity and quality of the repertoire they discovered was still in use. Even so they injected a note of frenzied desparation into their endeavours, feeling that like all collectors before them (Percy, Scott, etc.) they were in at the death of a traditional art. This feeling still pervades the ranks of folksong collectors but happily the folk singers themselves are oblivious to it. Miss Broadwood and Baring Gould were particularly

embarrassed by the broad humour and frankness of much of what they heard. To the credit of the latter, he noted down precisely what was sung even though he had no intention of ever publishing it. Miss Broadwood on the other hand was wont to waggle her pencil over her notebook, tut-tutting at the hapless and puzzled informant. Notwithstanding this bowdlerization, their published works made a great impact upon the public and spurred a second wave of interest in collecting amongst the most resourceful of the early members of the newly founded Folk Song Society. This group commenced their activities around 1900, and included Cecil Sharp, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Percy Grainger, George Gardiner, George Butterworth, Janet Blunt, Clive Carey and the Hammond brothers.

The switch from a concentration upon ballad texts as exemplified by Percy, to folksongs as demonstrated in the published collections of Kidson and Baring Gould, was a dramatic one as even a cursory examination of these works will reveal. It can also be said that the pendulum had swung too far, for the new pre-occupation was with tunes not texts, nor for that matter texts with their tunes. Whilst variant tunes were always noted, variant texts would usually be dealt with by noting the first few lines and then "etc." This resulted in a paradoxical situation when the tune was published, for quite often the editor would have to add the remainder of the text from a broadside - it never occurring to him that this is where the original came from. Too often they chose the wrong broadside variant, making it impossible to fit the text to the tune given with it and forcing the reader or singer to emulate the traditional performer in adjusting a text to fit a 'foreign' tune.

Principally, the Folk Song Society activists at this time saw folksongs as a panacea and raw material from which they could forge a national identity in their classical compositions. For many years the society was not primarily interested in the redovery of traditional music as a reflection of a fugitive culture still very much alive

throughout England. Instead they were an enthusiastic group of rare talented musicians who sought in folk music the means of founding a national school of music to compete with what they saw reflected in Russian, German, Hungarian and Italian classical styles. Their manuscript collections of folksongs were a bonus, which to their credit they meticulously archived and published - largely in an antiquarian spirit. Their emphasis upon the nationalism of folk music, now seen as an untenable idea, was the cause of a bitter debate in the pages of The Morning Chronicle in 1906. The Musical Times of December 1, 1906, succinctly summarised the correspondence in a long article entitled "A Folk-Song Discussion."[8] Arising from the fracas was the first, and still the only major statement of theory concerning folksongs and folk-music; English Folk Song - Some Conclusions, by Cecil Sharp.[9] It is because of this work and his highly publicised field-trips in the Southern Appalachians that his name has become synonymous with English folksong, to the detriment of his fellow collectors whose contributions were in every way as important to our present day knowledge of the subject. His own propensity for self-publicity was a conscious and rather shameful example of ambition over-reaching the bounds of scholastic decency. It is difficult to see how anyone with the least trace of integrity could have so purposefully destroyed the work of Miss Mary Neal in preserving and encouraging the Morris Dance in England, as Sharp did between 1910 and 1912.[10]

The work of the first two phases of interest in folksong; the antiquarian ballad editors and the 'county' collectors of those years leading up to the foundation of the Folk Song Society in 1899, are well documented, notably in D.K. Wilgus's Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898.[11] Since the subsequent period is little known to any but the more active members of the society, (particularly in regard to the manuscript collections that survive) the following details are offered,

not as a complete historical survey but as an annotated check-list of the collections formed and the principal collectors involved. In addition, the geographical penetration of these collectors is noted in an endeavour to demonstrate the way in which they undoubtedly experienced greatest success in those districts that had been best served by the broadside-ballad trade.

The earliest two collections of folksongs are as yet entirely unknown in print, and both were formed by persons unassociated with the subject.

The poet John Clare is known to have had a great interest in the old songs and dances that were performed in his home village of Helpstone. What is less widely realized is that he collected many of the ballads, songs and dances, and these manuscripts survive. In the Northampton Reference Library collection are two music notebooks. MS 12, containing eighty-eight dance tunes, is dated on its cover "1818" and MS 13 which is undated, has a total of one hundred and eighty tunes, including dances and songs. Only two of the songs are given with both text and tune, Gay's Black-eyed Susan and Dibdin's The Sailors Journal. In addition, a small notebook (MS 18) contains the texts of a number of ballads including versions of Lord Randall,[12] The Outlandish Knight[13] and a number of lyric songs. This latter notebook has been dated 1827-28. The Peterborough Museum collection of Clare Mss. also contains a number of notebooks with folksong texts taken down from his parents and friends in Helpstone. These include; The Cruel Brother,[14] Sweet William's Ghost,[15] Lord Bateman,[16] Robin Hood rescuing the three squires,[17] two versions of Bushes and Briars,[18] Robin Hood and the Gamekeepers,[19] Admiral Benbow,[20] The Lord of Lorn,[21] The Maid of Ocram[22] and a variant of Captain Wedderburn's Courtship.[23] The notebooks at Peterborough are Mss. 64KA; 42; 75 and perhaps MS 38, though the texts here are so heavily rewritten that they

may be useless as records though admirable as examples of Clare's inventiveness. Because he was so adept at rewriting within the traditional form and idiom, some poems of Clare may well [illegible] of having derived from folksongs. Edmund Blunden and Alan Porter in John Clare: Poems Chiefly from Manuscript (London, 1920) went so far as to include The Lass of Ocram as a Clare composition yet the text is evidently that issued by John Pitts[24] and James Catnach[25] as a broadside variant of an earlier ballad, Lord Gregory or The Lass of Roch Royan. Margaret Grainger has studied Clare's manuscripts at Peterborough and has recently deposited her London, M.A. thesis at the Peterborough Museum. A section of this thesis was published in 1964 in Occasional Papers, No. 3. of the Peterborough Museum Society.

Amongst the collection of Thomas Hardy's manuscripts at the Dorset County Museum are three manuscripts of folk-music. They were not written out by him but had been passed down through his family as heir-looms. One manuscript dated 1799, contains one hundred and sixty-eight tunes for dances and songs; the second is a notebook of thirty-eight carols giving both texts and tunes whilst the third manuscript contains only dance music - two hundred and thirty-eight tunes in all.

William Alexander Barrett's collecting was carried out on the Sussex coast in the 1870's. His manuscripts are lost but we have the collection of fifty-four songs he published in 1889.[26] His broadside collection survives and is in the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.

Baring Gould's manuscripts are only partially extant.[27] In Plymouth Public Library are three large volumes consisting of two hundred and two songs copied out and textually amended to be suitable for publication, and one thousand and fifty tunes - some with texts - noted by his companions in his field work, the Reverend H.F. Sheppard and Dr. Bussell. The third volume was recovered in 1972 when a descendant of Baring Gould

died. It is a field notebook containing over one hundred songs in their unbowdlerized forms. This notebook is of great interest as it bears on one side of each opening, a pencil notation of the sung text with erasures and mistakes clearly shown, whilst on the opposite page is the final full text written out neatly in ink - presumably at a later time. One can detect the perhaps unconscious editing from one stage to the other and this notebook has many of the songs, (like The Jolly Sportsman, p.32) which Baring Gould felt able to publish only in a re-written form. It is clear from the collection as a whole, that Baring Gould scoured the counties of Cornwall and Devon thoroughly for informants. His recovered texts should be consulted in conjunction with the printed ballads of Elias Keys of Devonport to see just how influential this printer was in circulating songs throughout the south-west.

Frank Kidson worked primarily in Yorkshire and made a few visits to Westmoreland and North Lincolnshire. His major work was to index the airs of early printed song-books and this index, still unpublished, extends to fifty-seven volumes. He left his collection of four thousand books and manuscripts to The Mitchell Library in Glasgow. Despite his long interest in folksongs, he collected few - less than three hundred manuscript items survive. He also gathered a small collection of broadside ballads, half of which are in Glasgow and the remainder in Leeds Public Library. A survey of his bequest to the Mitchell Library was printed in The Consort, in July, 1950.[28]

Miss Lucy Broadwood was instrumental in founding the Folk Song Society and served as its Secretary for many years. She also edited the Folk Song Journal until her death in 1929. Her surviving collection at the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library is disappointing for it contains essentially, only those songs sent to her for inclusion in the Folk Song Journal and in her English County Songs.[29] The bulk of her

manuscripts and phonograph cylinder rolls are held [illegible] by the Broadwood family and are inaccessible to students. As far as we know, her major contribution was the work she did with Henry Burstow of Horsham - a singer who boasted a repertoire of over four hundred songs.

Cecil Sharp's manuscripts are housed in Clare College library, Cambridge and amount to over four thousand five hundred items. The collection may be divided into two collections; about two thousand ballads and songs gathered in North America between 1914 and 1916, and the remainder in England between 1905 and 1923. Three quarters of the English collection was gathered from three small districts in Somerset so that the collection is scarcely representative of England as a whole. The distribution of Sharp's informants has been discussed in an acidic, if not jaundiced article by D. Harker in the Folk Music Journal, 1972.[30] The broadside ballads of W. Clift of Cirencester and W. Collard of Bristol had an evident penetration throughout Somerset and the closeness of their texts with Sharp's collected variants indicates a wide usage of broadsides in the mid-nineteenth century in Somerset.

Vaughan Williams collected widely throughout England and his manuscripts and published essays[31] have been under-valued by most folk-song scholars. The problem may well have been accessibility but now that the entire series of ten volumes plus loose sheets has been deposited at the British Museum, such difficulties have disappeared. He gathered close upon one thousand six hundred songs, chiefly in Norfolk, Cambridge, Yorkshire, Essex and Surrey. He also collaborated with Mrs. Ella Leather in her small collection of Herefordshire folksongs and carols.[32]

The most 'scientific' of the early collectors was Percy Grainger. From 1904 until 1906 he collected widely throughout England, following

the example of his colleagues and using notepad and pencil. He then realized the inadequacy of this method and began to employ a phonograph machine. His collection with the phonograph caused much distress amongst the senior members of the Folk Song Society when he published his findings and clearly demonstrated that for real accuracy of transcription, it was necessary to have a sound recording which could be played and replayed until the notation was correct.[33] His approach was much closer to today's ethnomusicologists than the collectors of his own age and when he offered to give his collection of cylinder recordings to the Folk Song Society, they were refused. The Library of Congress had no reservations and they have made dubbings of all the cylinder rolls which were beginning to harden and crumble. Grainger's collection of manuscripts has been brought together by the present writer and extends to five hundred ballads and songs, not including the folksongs recorded in Jutland.

H.E.D. and R. Hammond collected in the counties of Dorset, Wiltshire and Somerset between 1905 and 1910. Their manuscripts amount to about one thousand songs and largely duplicate the findings of Cecil Sharp in Somerset. The collection is now housed in the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.

George Gardiner's collection of seven hundred and fifty folksongs was recorded entirely in the county of Hampshire with the aid of the musical expertise of Vaughan Williams, Charles Gamblin and J.F. Guyer. He detailed his experiences at the time in a series of newspaper articles which benefitted the effectiveness of his search for singers.[34] It is a remarkable series of manuscripts when one realizes that only two years were required to gather over ninety percent of the collection. His manuscripts, like those of the next three collectors were deposited with the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

Janet Blunt worked entirely in the villages of Adlestrop and Addlestrop near Banbury. She gathered approximately five hundred folksongs, carols, hymns and dances peculiar to this region and the collection fills eighteen notebooks.

George Butterworth's collection of eleven volumes of dances and songs includes the full transcripts of about two hundred and fifty folksongs, mostly from the Home Counties.

W. Percy Merrick collected throughout Sussex but only one envelope of a few dozen songs is in public hands, the remainder of his collection being inaccessibly held by his family.

C.H. Laycock left four notebooks of Devonshire folksongs to the Torquay Natural History Society in 1943. Unhappily these have now strayed from the Torquay Museum and we have no means of determining their contents.

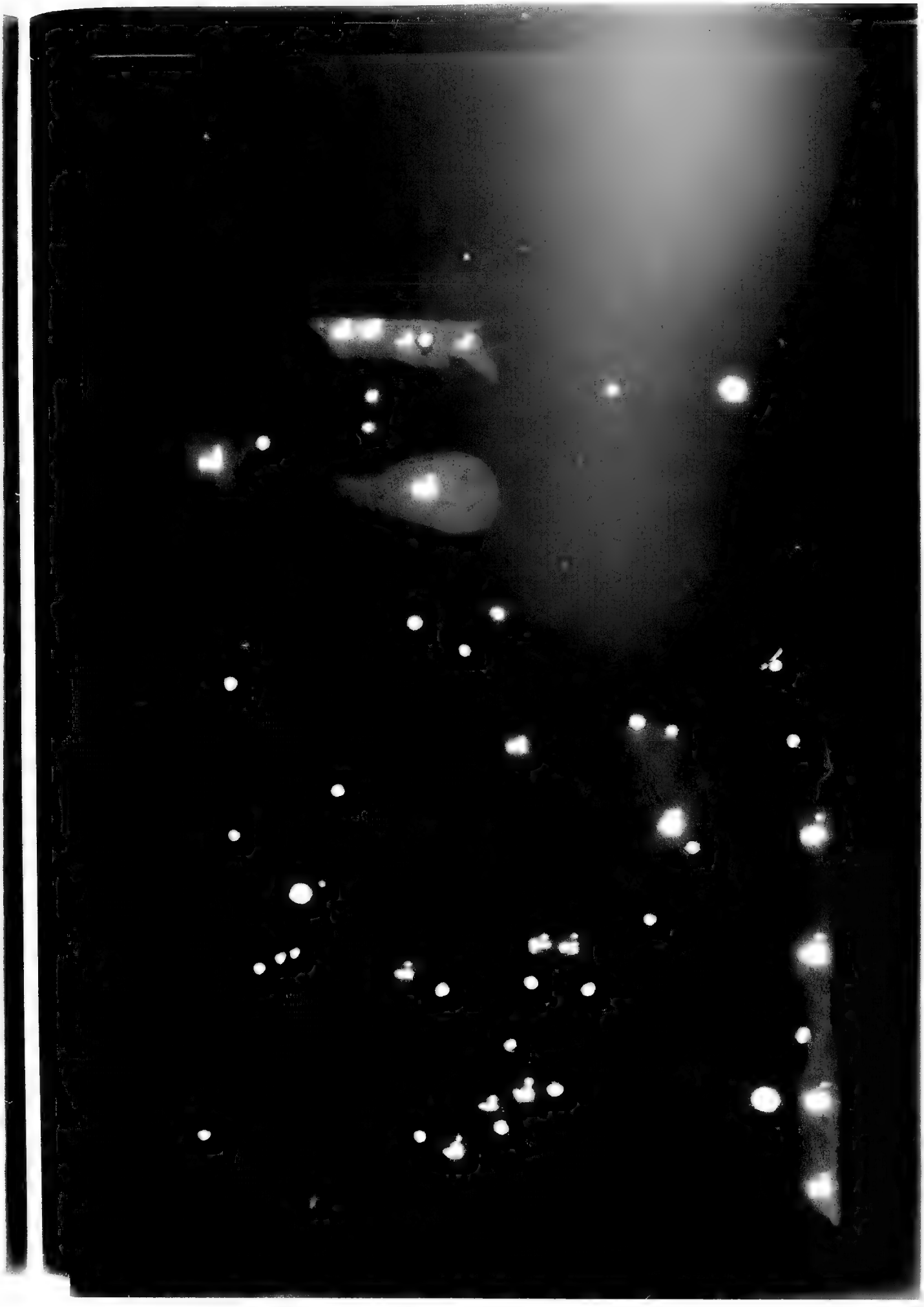
The above details illustrate the extent of major holdings of folk-songs collected before 1939. One collector is omitted who was not in any way associated with the Folk Song Society and whose work will be considered in greater detail since he collected across the districts covered by the Dicey and Raikes chapmen in the eighteenth century and one might reasonably expect to find evidence of their activities in his manuscripts.

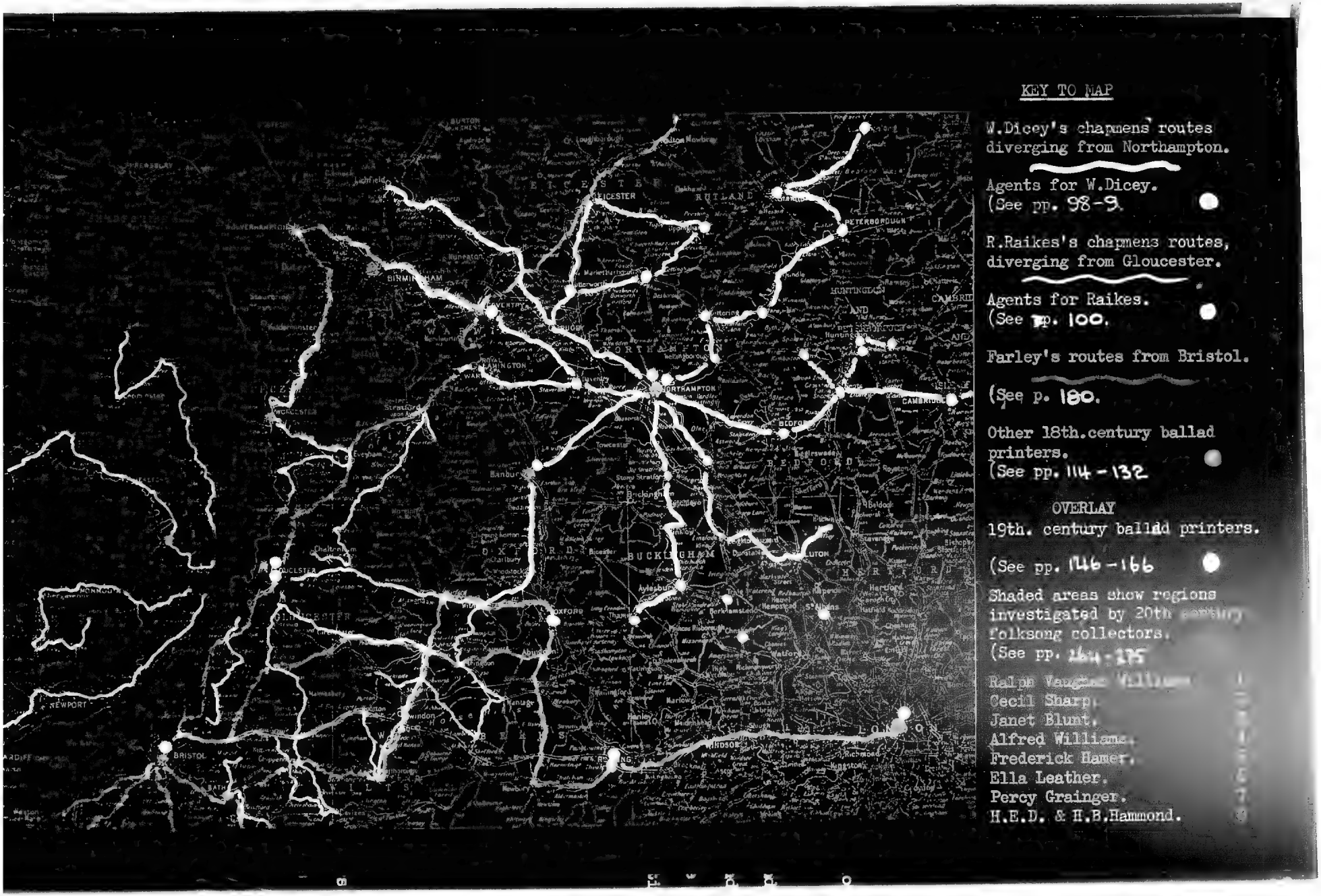
Alfred Williams, ex-railwayman, author, poet and folksong collector, was a 'loner' - so much so that when offered hospitality he had been known to write a letter of thanks, enclosing a ten+shilling note to cover the cost of his meal, despite his own impoverished circumstances. Between 1914 and 1916 he travelled throughout the upper Thames valley noting the texts of songs from village folk. A total of seven hundred and fifty five texts survive in his manuscripts at Swindon Public Library. Of these he selected two hundred and sixty+five which he published in Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames in 1923.[35] Even though working in a large region of his own choice, he found that a small

number of villages and towns, and a limited number of informants were to be found. His experiences are well detailed in his introductory essay which is one of the few extended statements we have of a collector's methodology and his observations upon the people and places he visited. Like previous collectors, he noted that broadsides had played a part in the transmission of songs but unlike his predecessors, he did not undervalue their contribution. He explained that songs mentioning a particular locality were the result often of printers and hawkers adding a nearby reference to entice their customers. Of his collection he said:

> Out of the six hundred I have obtained, I do not think there are above ten or twelve which were composed in the Thames Valley.....ballad sheets were printed at Cirencester and at Highworth. At the same time, I am certain the pieces were not composed in the locality. I also have sheets that were printed at Bristol, Newport, Birmingham, Winchester and London.....We know that enormous quantities of the sheets were sold up and down the countryside: hundreds, if not thousands, were commonly disposed of at a single fair-time. 36

On the map overleaf, are marked the routes of chapmen in the eighteenth (and nineteenth?) century, the ballad printers of both centuries, and shaded, are the regions in which the collectors worked. This map cannot of course show the meanderings of ballad-hawkers, who one can be certain travelled this region frequently. Clearly the upper Thames valley was within reach of the major broadside centres of Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Birmingham, Coventry, Banbury, Northampton and London. Over six hundred of Williams's texts can be traced on broadsides printed at one or other of these centres. This represents a proportion of eighty percent of the entire collection and the same figure (if not a little higher) is true of the collections made by Cecil Sharp, Vaughan Williams and Percy Grainger. At present the actual figures for these and the remaining manuscript collections are tentative since the task of indexing the broadsides against traditional




KEY TO MAP
W.Dicey's chapmens routes diverging from Northampton.
Agents for W.Dicey.
(See pp. 98-9.
R.Raikes's chapmens routes, diverging from Gloucester.
Agents for Raikes.
(See pp. 100.
Farley's routes from Bristol.
(See p. 180.
Other 18th.century ballad printers.
(See pp. 114-132
OVERLAY
19th. century ballad printers.
(See pp. 146-166
Shaded areas show regions investigated by 20th century folksong collectors.
(See pp. 164-175
Ralph Vaughan Williams
Cecil Sharp.
Janet Blunt.
Alfred Williams.
Frederick Hamer.
Ella Leather.
Percy Grainger.
H.E.D. & H.B.Hammond.
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
PETERBOROUGH
BIRMINGHAM
NORTHAMPTON
BEDFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
OXFORD
GLOUCESTER
BRISTOL
NEWPORT
WINDSOR

recoveries is complicated by the lack of uniformity in titles and first lines. What had been undertaken as a task to complement Laws' bibliography[37] of American recoveries of ballads originating as British broadsides, has developed into a major work which will occupy many years. In place of Laws' list of some two hundred and fifty ballads, the English listing will have to accommodate in excess of one thousand eight hundred titles. A sixth of these titles relate to ballads first issued before the end of the eighteenth century, the remainder are of nineteenth century origin. Appendix G gives the list of those identified as being of pre-1700 origin, with locations of one early printed copy and one recovery from tradition.

The total number of folksongs that have been collected in England up to the year 1939, is well in excess of twelve thousand and five hundred variants of approximately three thousand different songs. Since the second World War, an additional impetus was provided by the introduction of the tape-recorder. The principal collectors since the war have accumulated recordings at such a rate[38] that mere retrieval has lost much of its romance and its utility. Increasingly the emphasis is changing from the gathering of mere artefacts to the study of the cultural usage and function of folksong. This requires that the collector spend much longer with each informant, questioning him closely to place his repertoire in its relationship to his life and his community. With some singers, this may mean spending many years and many visits in building up a complete picture. It also entails the forging of friendships which mutually benefits both the singer and collector, and the long term study of folksong.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

Notes.

1. Five editors cited in bibliography.

2. Ritson's English Songs; see bibliography.

3. Gale Huntington has particularly searched the logs of whaling vessels out of the port of New Bedford. The result is a large and very comprehensive collection of early provenance. See bibliography.

4. Miss Anne Cockburn of Nottingham, under the supervision of Professor Kinsley is currently editing an account book of 1785-95 which is filled with tunes and texts of the family's songs.

5. Professor George Carey of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, has discovered a notebook full of songs noted down from aprivateersman captured by the Royal Navy in 1785. This notebook contains above fifty ballads, many copied off English broadsides and some obviously taken down from recitation, the spelling in some instances being phonetic, as "strawon" for Strachan. The prisoner was held at Forton, near Portsmouth.

6. See bibliography for the title of this work - a model of eccentricity.

7. These works cited in the bibliography.

8. The discussion was started provocatively by Miss A.E. Keeton, and continued acrimoniously by Cecil Sharp, Arthur Hervey and Dr. Somervell.

9. This work, originally published by Novello in 1907 has now gone through four revisions. It remains a thoroughly comprehensive work musically though romantic when it refers to the songs and their origins. The persistent criticism is that it identifies a particular style of song on questionable aesthetic grounds and maintains a robustly eccentric view of who the 'folk' are - a group of noble peasants unsullied by the harsh realities of the industrial age and living in quiet backwaters of the English countryside.

10. The preliminaries of this altercation are hinted at in English Folk-Song and Dance by Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, pp. 165-7.

11. See bibliography.

12. Northampton - Clare MS 18, pp.3-5.

13. Reprinted in J.L. Cherry's Life and Remains of John Clare, London, 1873.

14. Peterborough MS. 64KA, ff 34^{b} and 35^{b}.

15. Peterborough MS. 42, pp. 46-47.

16. Peterborough MS. 64KA, ff 53[b] and 54[b]. "Taken down from a Shepherd".

17. Peterborough MS.42, p.45.

18. Peterborough, MS. 64KA, f. 24[b].

19. Peterborough Mss. 75, pp. 91a-92 and 64KA, ff. 9[a], 10[b] and 11[b].

20. Peterborough MS. 64KA, f. 20[b].

21. Peterborough Mss. 42, p. 57 and 75, pp. 84-84a.

22. Blunden and Porter, cited in text.

23. In Cherry's Life and Remains.... op.cit.

24. Madden Collection, M8-447, 448 and M9-554.

25. Madden Collection, M10-441.

26. Barrett, William Alexander. English Folk Songs, Novello, London, n.d. A copy of the work in the writer's possession bears a letter from Barrett to his informant thanking him for his assistance; it is dated, 1889.

27. Recently, several packing cases of books and manuscripts saved from the fire at Lew Trenchard, (the old home of Baring Gould) has been discovered by the Plymouth Librarian. Negotiations are underway to recover the contents for the Plymouth collection.

28. Farmer, H.G. "The Kidson Collection" in The Consort, July 1950.

29. Broadwood, Lucy M and J.A. Fuller Maitland M.A., F.S.A. English County Songs. London, n.d. (ca.1891).

30. Harker, David. "Cecil Sharp in Somerset - Some Conclusions". in Folk Music Journal, Vol. 2. No. 3, 1972, pp.220-240.

31. Reprinted in National Music and Other Essays. Ralph Vaughan Williams. London, 1963.

32. Many of Mrs. Leather's songs were printed in her Folklore of Herefordshire, Hereford, 1912. She remarks upon the practice of singers who purchased broadsides printed by Hull and Sons, and Elliot, both of Hereford. "they rolled them up into balls in their pockets." p.181.

33. See Graingers issue of the Journal of the Folk Song Society, No. 12. (1908). Also Unto Brigg Fair, Leader LEA 4050, (a record with accompanying book by R.S. Thomson). A further selection of songs collected by Grainger and edited by the present writer is at press now and will be published in Folk Music Journal, 1974 at the end of July next.

34. "The Quest for Folk-Songs in Hampshire", Hampshire Chronicle, December 28, 1907; "Dr. Gardiner on Folk Songs," Hampshire Chronicle, February 20, 1909 and "Hampshire Folk Songs. Dr. Gardiner's Quest and the Result," in Hampshire Chronicle, October 16, 1909.

35. Williams, Alfred. Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames. London, 1923.

36. ibid. pp.11-12.

37. Laws, Tr., G. Malcolm. American Balladry from British Broadsides. Philadelphia, 1957.

38. The largest collection was formed by a group of collectors including Alan Lomax, Peter Kennedy, Seamus Ennis and Bob Copper between 1952 and 1957, as a BBC project. The archive includes 13000 items. In addition, large collections have been formed by Ewan MacColl, Charles Parker, Ken Stubbs, Mervyn Plunkett, Mike Yates, Roy Palmer and Bob Patten . Most of the aforementioned have collected extensively from gypsies. There are large archives in the Folk Lore and Life department at Leeds University and the Survey of Language and Lore at Sheffield University. The present writer has a personal archive of approximately 4500 songs, ballads, folktales and mumming plays. Obviously such massive accumulations begin to present difficulties since little of the above work has yet been transcribed let alone studied.

Appendix A

The present Adjustment & Settlement of the Stock of ye Antient Ballad Warehouse; with ye Propriety & Right of Printing ye same, 1689

By Indenture of the 18th of January 1689, between William Thackeray, John Millet, and Alexander Milbourn, Citizens & Stationers of London, it appears; That these Three being joyntly & aequally interested in all ye Copies, vizt Books of 3 sheets, 2½, Single, & Broad Sheets, Tables, & Ballads, express'd in a Schedule or Catalogue indented & annext; and in all other Copies of Books, Ballads, Songs, Pictures, &c. except as thereafter excepted; all which are said to have formerly belong'd to Francis Coles, Tho. Vere, John Wright, Tho. Passinger, all deceas'd, & this Thackeray, in a Co-partnership now determin'd; whereby ye sayd Thackeray, is become sole Proprietor thereof, and has sold ye sayd Millet & Milbourn respectively two Thirds of ye same, excepting the Copies of the Historys mention'd in that Schedule, and those of Mother Shipton and ye Protestant Guarland. And these three Persons being also become joyntly interested in several Reams of Paper, and quantities of ye said Books, Ballads, Songs, & c. already printed, being ye Stock belonging to the Ballad-Warehouse, & to these Parties in respect of this their joynt-Trade, are now become accordingly Co-partners & Joynt-Traders in ye same, in the messuage/p.440/Messuage of the said Thackeray call'd ye Angel in Duck-Lane, & in such other Places as they shall hereafter agree-on for that Use.

This Indenture witnesseth, That these Parties, each for himselfe, his Executors, Administrators, & Assignes, mutually convenant for doing his best in ye well-managing this their present & future Stock, for ye bringing-in of Gain & avoiding of Loss.

That this stock, & all ye Profits of it, shall be equally divided between then by Thirds.

That this stock shall remain-in & be dispos'd of from ye sayd Ware-house only, or such other Place as ye Majority of them shall agree-on.

That they shall keep Books of Accompts concerning ye same, and of all their Dealings, Bargains, Sales, Receipts, Payments, & c^e relating thereto; and that all ye sayd Books, Bonds, Bills, &c^e. shall be kept in ye sayd Ware-house, with aequal liberty of Access by them thereto.

That all Rents & Charges in buying Paper; or purchasing Copies, Ballads, Ec^e. shall be aequally born out of ye sayd Stock and Profits.

That neither of ye Parties shall sell or dispose of their Interest herein, without ye Approbacon of ye rest; nor bring any oth^r. Person into this Co-Partnership without ye same.

That all Copies, Books, Ballads, Song, &c. relating to this Ballad-Ware-house, shall be printed in/p.441/ in the name of them all.

Nor shall any Copy by bought or printed, Persons trusted, Price sett, or any thing done belonging thereto, but by Agreement of ye Majority.

That Thackeray & his Executors & c^e. shall furnish ye sayd Stock with Paper; & Millet, & Milbourne & theirs, print all ye Books, Copies, Ballads, Songs, & c^e. at their aequal Charge and by aequal Portions between them.

That once in every two months, or oftner, they shall meet at ye Ware-house, and adjust all Accompts for Printing & Paper. And if Thackeray's Disbursments for ye latter shall exceed the Ballance for ye former, or Millet & Milbourn's for Printing exceed that for Paper, ye same shall be reciprocally allow'd to each by ye other.

That neither of them shall print or sell the Copy of any new Ballad, Song, Picture & c^e. of like nature; or any other Copies of Books, Ballads, &c^e. belonging to this Stock or Ware-house, or usually sold therefrom, formerly printed by others, but what shall be done for ye Joynt-Benefit of ye whole, excepting to Thackeray his Copies before excepted.

That every of them severally & his Execut^rs. shall bear ye rest harmless ag^st all Debts & Engagements by him owing to anb^dy, or concerning this Partnership, & all Suits, Costs, &c^a. relating thereto.

That in any Case of Difference betw^n. them, touching ye Price of any Copy, & c^e. any two of them shall bind ye third.

That/p.442/ That Upon ye Death of any One of them, the Survivors shall in 14 days after, make-up & give a just Account to ye Executors & c^e. of ye Party Deceas'd at their Request, and of all Debts thereon, their own Debts first pay'd; and within a Month from his Decesse, pay his Executors a full Third of ye Value of ye Copies of ye Books, Ballads, &c^e. belonging to the Partnership; the whole thereof being now adjusted at £100, and 33.6.8 ye Third for ye present Copys comprehended herein: And that all future Stock shall be reckon'd at 5^s. ye Ream for Paper, and the Cut or Half-Sheets, Broads, Songs, and Books, at 25½ Sheets to a Quire, & 20 Quites to a Ream.

That to all Copies to be hereafter purchased by these Partners, their Executors shall have power to choose two Persons Printers, and two others that are Book-sellers to be chosen by ye Survivors, to appraise ye same: Provided, that if ye Executors shall refuse to accept of such Appraisement, they may become Partners in an aequal Third of ye Whole; with this Condition only, that they be then Members of ye Stationers Company of London.

Thackeray covenants that Millet & Milbourn shall at all seasonable times have free Ingress & Regress to ye sayd Ware-house for viewing the same.

And Millet & Milbourn covenant on their parts, that in case Thackeray shall in his Lifetime desire to assign-over his Share herein/p.443/ herein to his Son Tho. Thackeray, or that ye sayd Tho.

shall upon his Father's Death, desire to be receiv'd i[illegible] Co-partnership in ye Room of his Father, they will receive him accordingly.

And for ye true Performance hereof, each binds himself, his Executors & c^e.^ in ye poenal Sym of £200; severally signing & sealing ye same the Day and Year above written.

William Thackeray
John Millet
Alexander Milbourn.

Appendix B

160) Shares September. 20. 1712.

Charles Brown A Moiety.
Tho: Norris. A Moiety.

Then entred for their Copies, the following Ballads and Small Books, Viz: in this Part.

Ballads.

Sr. John Barley-corn —old—vi.
Robin Hood and Will: Stutely —old—vi.
Robin Hood and fifteen forresters —old—vi.
Jane Shore —old—vi.
Bernard Vision —old—vi.
Fed her Father —old—vi.
Blind Beggar —old—vi.
Titus Andronicus —old—vi.
Pages life of Plimouth —old—vi.
King and Northern Man —old—vi.
Lady's Fall —old—vi.
Days of old —old—vi.
Bateman —old—vi.
Laudlin —old—vi.
Rosamond —old—vi.
Fox Chase —old—vi.
Old Toby —old—vi.
Troy Town —old—vi.
George Barnwell —old—vi.
Patient Grissell —old—vi.
Children in the wood —old—vi.
King Charles's Martyrdom —old—vi.
Wandering Jew —old—vi.
Dead mans Song —old—vi.
Constant and Anthony —old—vi.
Robin Hood and little John —old—vi.
Blackamore and Lady —old—vi.
Mad Tom of Bedlam —old—vi.
[illegible] hundred Godly Lessons —old—vi.
King and Miller —old—vi.
Dragon of Wantley —old—vi.
Lady Arabella —old—vi.
Bride's Burial —old—vi.
Dear Lord regard my grief —old—vi.

Wanton Wife of Bath —old—vi.
Week before Easter —old—vi.
David and Bathsheba —old—vi.
Lord Thomas —old—vi.
I am so deep in love —old—vi.
Suffolk Miracle —old—vi.

(Continued on p.161 with the same headings)

Lady Isabella's tragedy —old—vi.
Samuel and Sarah —old—vi.
John True —old—vi.
Poor Robin's Dream —old—vi.
William Grismond —old—vi.
Chevy Chase —old—vi.
London Prentice —old—vi.
Lady turn'd Serving —old—vi.
Neptune's raging fury —old—vi.
Johnny Armstrong —old—vi.
Spanish Lady —old—vi.
Two faithfull Lovers —old—vi.
Gallant Youth att Gravesend —old—vi.
A Lesson for all true Christian —old—vi.
Cupid's Courtesie —old—vi.
New s from Hide Park —old—vi.
Leather Battle —old—vi.
Guy of Warwick —old—vi.
Wandring Jews Chronicle —old—vi.
Andrew Barton —old—vi.
George Saunders —old—vi.
Jane Reynolds —old—vi.
Gerrard's Mistress —old—vi.
Hunting the Hare —old—vi.
Alack for my Love —old—vi.
Sinners Redemption —old—vi.
Bloody Queristers —old—vi.
Little Musgrove —old—vi.
Fair Maid of Islington —old—vi.
As I walkt forth to take the air —old—vi.
Robin Hood and Tanner —old—vi.

Broadsides

Jacob and twelve sons —old—vi.

Christus Natus est —d—vi.
Wit and Folly in a Mare —d—.
A Watch for a Wise Man —d—vi.
Welch Man's Inventory —d—.
Christs Tears over Jerusalem —d—vi.

(Continued on p.162 with the same headings.)

Sheets and halfe.

Tryal of Wit, or a Book of Riddles —old—vi.
History of Fair Rosamund —old—vi.
Guy of Warwick —old—vi.
Robin Hood —old—vi.
John and Kate —old—vi.
Tom Long —old—vi.
Tom Tram, the first part —old—vi.
Tom Tram, the second part —old—vi.
Tom Tram, the third part —old—vi.
Doctor Foster —old—vi.
Tom Hickathrift, the first part —old—vi.
Tom Hickathrift, the second part —old—vi.
Tom Thumb, the first part —old } —vi.
Tom Thumb, the second part —old }
Jane Shore —old—vi.
Old Woman of Ratcliff Highway, 1st part —old } —vi.
" " " " " 2nd part —old }
Distressed Welshman —old—vi.
Christmas Carrols —old—vi.
Tom Pots —old—vi.
Robin the Cobler —old—vi.
Pleasure of Matrimony —old—vi.
Saint George —old—vi.
A Groatsworth of Wit for a Peny —old—vi.
Six peny Worth of Wit —old—vi.
Welsh Traveller —old—vi.
Seven Champions, the first part —old } —vi.
Seven Champions, the second part —old }
Partridge and Flamsteads Fortune Book —old—vi.
Esops Fables —old—vi.
High German Fortune-Teller —old—vi.

Black Book of Conscience —old—vi.
Protestant Guide —old—vi.
Davids Repentance —old—vi.
Riches of Christ —old—vi.
Blessed Man —old—vi.

(Continued on p.163)

Thomas Savage —old—vi.
Academy of Complements —old—vi.
Crown Garland —old—vi.
Book of Riddles —old—vi.
Poets Jests —old—vi.
Art of Courtship —old—vi.
London Prentice —old—vi.
Schoole of Piety —old—vi.
Righteous Mans Reward —old—vi.
Saints Everlasting Rest —old—vi.
Egiptian Fortune-teller —old—vi.
Canterbury Tales —old—vi.
Spanish Lady —old—vi.

Three Sheet Books.

Rosamund —old—vi.
King Arthur —old—vi.
Jane Shore —old—vi.
Gentle Craft —old—vi.
Dutch Fortune-teller —old—vi.
Fortunatus —old—vi.
Johnny Armstrong —old—vi.
Chevy Chase —old—vi.
Queen Elizabeth & Earl of Essex —old—vi.
Nine Worthies —old—vi.
Argalus and Parthenia —old—vi.
Parismus —old—vi.
Bateman —old—vi.
Prince Alfred —old—vi.
Don Bellianis of Greece —old—vi.
Kawood the Rook —old—vi.
Reynard the Fox —old—vi.
Patient Grissel —old—vi.
Dr. Faustus —old—vi.
Mandervils Travels —old—vi.

(Continued on p.164.)

Stitcht History

Robin Hoods Garland	—old—vi.
Mother Shiptons Prophecies	—old—vi.
Dr. Faustus	—old—vi.

Bound Books.

Monarchs of England	—old—vi.
Secretarys Guide	—old—vi.
Cabinet of Wit	—old—vi.
Book of Knowledge	—old—vi.
Aristotle's Midwife	—old—vi.
Aristotle's Masterpiece	—old—vi.
Wars of the Jews	—old—vi.
Esops Fables	—old—vi.
Fortunatus	—old—vi.
Argalus & Parthenia	—old—vi.
Reynard the Fox	—old—vi.
Weeks preparation	—old—vi.
Posie of Prayers	—old—vi.
Devout Companion	—old—vi.
The Compleat English Schoolmaster	—old—vi.
Hart's 6 Sermons	—old—vi.
Pleasures of Matrimony	—old—vi.
Parismus	—old—vi.
Whole Duty of Prayer	—old—vi.
Whole Duty of Sacrament	—old—vi.
English Rogue	—old—vi.
Oxford Jests	—old—vi.
Cockers Spelling Books	—old—vi.
Pilgrims Progress 3d Part	—old—vi.

Books in 32

Parents best gift, or School of Piety	—old—vi.
A compleat Abstract of ye Holy Bible	—old—vi.
First Book for Children	—old—vi.
Royal Schoolmaster	—old—vi.

Charles Brown
Thos Morris

30 Sept. 1712
(?)Accounted(?) and Checked with Mr. Collyer

Tim: Beattey

Appendix C.

The ballad entries from; A CATALOGUE OF MAPS, HIST[illegible], [illegible], OLD BALLADS, COPY-BOOKS, Broad-Sheet and other PATTERS, DRA[illegible]-BOOKS, &c. GARLANDS, &c. PRINTED and SOLD by WILLIAM and CLUER DICEY, At their WAREHOUSE, Opposite the South Door of Bow-Church in Bow-Church-Yard, LONDON. Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.LIV. (Unique copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Shelf Mark. 258.c.109.)

The catalogue from which this list is taken was once the property of Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore. He has interleaved the catalogue in order to add to it those ballads that William Dicey had in stock but had omitted from the list. These extra items are here designated by an asterisk and the numbering is that added in manuscript by Bishop Percy.

pp.45-46.

A CATALOGUE OF OLD BALLADS: Printed in a neater Manner, and with CUTS more truly adapted to each Story, than elsewhere.

*1. The Age of Man displayed &c.
*2. Amorous Lady's Garland, or Handsome Butcher
*3. Arthur a Bradley. (Merry Wedding for)

1. Bite upon the Miser: Or, A Trick upon the Parson by a Sailor.
2. Blink-ey'd Cobler.
3. Bonny Dundee: Or, Jockey's Deliverance.
4. Blind Beggar of Bethnal-Green.
5. Brisk Tom and Jolly Kate.
6. Ballad of a Cloak's Knavery.
7. Bride's Burial.
8. Beautiful Shepherdess of Arcadia.
9. Bailiff's Daughter of Islington.
10. Baffled Knight.
11. Broken Contract.
12. Bristol Bridegroom.
13. Barbara Allen's Cruelty.
14. Berkshire Lady.
15. Beggar Wench of Hull.
16. Bull's Feather.
17. Badsworth-Hunt: Or, The Fox Chace.
18. Berkshire Tragedy.
19. Bateman's Tragedy.
20. Bonny Milk-maid.

21. Batchelor's Resolution.
22. Bloody Gardener.
23. Bristol Garland.
24. Butcher's Daughter's Policy.
25. Bite upon Bite.
*26. Brickmaker's Lamentation from Newgate.
*27. Breath of Life, a young man that went to [illegible].
*28. Buckingham (Duke of) His Life & Death.

1. Captain Hind's Progress and Ramble.
2. Crafty Plowman's Garland.
3. Captain Ward and the Rainbow.
4. Cupid's Revenge.
5. Crafty Kate of Colchester.
6. Cordial Advice to all rash young Men.
7. Cruel Step-mother.
8. Covetous Mother.
9. Cruel Cooper of Ratcliff-Cross.
10. Cooper of Norfolk.
11. Constance and Anthony.
12. Crafty Farmer of Norfolk.
13. City Ramble.
14. Country Girl's Policy: Or, The Cockney out-witted.
15. Carman's Whistle.
16. Catskin: or, The wandering Young Gentlewoman.
17. Chichester Merchant.
18. Cowardly Clown of Flanders Cuckolded.
19. Cruel Lover: Or, the credulous Maid.
20. Cupid's Courtesy.
21. Cruel Knight: Or, Fortunate Farmer's Daughter.
22. Crafty Lover: Or, The Lawyer out-witted.
23. Children in the Wood.
24. Chevy-Chase.
25. Crafty London Apprentice: Or, Bow-Bells.
26. Complaining Shepherdess.
27. Countryman's Garland.
28. Cook-maid's Garland.
29. Cambridgeshire Garland.
30. Cumberland Garland.
31. Carmarthen Tragedy.
32. Cornwall Tragedy.
33. Cambridge Tragedy.

34. Courteous Carman.
35. Contented Lovers.
36. Cries of London.
37. Crafty Miller: Or, Mistaken Batchelow.
38. Constant Wife.
39. Crafty Sailor.
40. Crafty Esquire's Garland.
41. Chester Garland.
42. Cupid's Trepan.
*43. Coventry made free by Godiva.
*44. Cloak's Knavery, A Ballad of the.
*45. Crafty Lass's Garland, Or a Coney brot to Market.
*46. Cumberland Tragedy.
*47. Christmas Carols, Three New--
*48. (Christmas) - a sacred Poem at -

1. Durham Garland.
2. Dorsetshire Garland: Or, The Beggar's Wedding.
3. Difficult Batchelor.
4. David and Bathsheba.
5. Distressed Shepherd: Or, Joy after Sorrow.
6. Dying Lover's last Farewell.
7. Distracted Sailor.
8. Dutiful Daughter of Halifax.
9. Death and the Lady.
10. Doating Mother.
11. Dragon of Wantley.
12. Dying Tears of a true Lover forsaken.
13. Dead Man's Song.
14. Dutchess of Suffolk's Calamity.
15. Doleful Death of Queen Jane.
16. Drunkard's last Legacy.
17. Darbyshire Ballad.
18. Dorsetshire Garland.
19. Doctor Faustus.
20. Delightful Thomas.
21. Dame of Honour.
22. Disobedient Son.
23. Distressed Lady.
24. Durham Tragedy.
*25. Doleful Dance & Song of Death.

*26. Delights of the Bottle.
*27. Dialogue of the Countryman & Citizen [illegible]
Genl. Monk. 1660.

1. England's new Ballad.
2. Entire Lovers.
3. English Glory displayed.
4. England's Looking-glass.
*5. Exeter Garland, or Two Loyal Lovers of Exeter.

1. Faithless Captain: Or, The Betrayed Virgin.
2. Four Indian Kings.
3. Fryar well fitted.
4. Fox-Chace: Or, The Huntsman's Harmony.
5. Fair Rosamund's Overthrow.
6. Fair Rosamund and King Henry II.
7. Fair Maid of Dunsmore's Lamentation.
8. Forlorn Lovers.
9. Frantick Lover: Or, The wandering young Man.
10. Fair Margaret's Misfortunes.
11. French Convert.
12. Fisherman's Daughter's Garland.
13. Fight at Malaga.
14. Flower of Servingmen.
15. Fair Maid of Islington.
16. Faithful Friendship.
17. Fall of Pride.
18. Fortunate Lover.
19. Fun in an Alley: or, The Footman trapp'd.
20. Fun upon Fun: Or, The stark-naked Wedding.
*21. Father's good Counsel to his Lascivious Son.
*22. Four Wonders of this Land.

1. Gosport Tragedy.
2. Gloucestershire Tragedy: Or, The unnatural Mother.
3. Gloucestershire Tragedy: O[illegible], The Lover's Downfall.
4. Gloucestershire Tragedy: Or, The Lover's Farewell to the World.
5. Great Boobee.
6. Gelding the Devil.
7. George Barnwell.
8. Gallant Seaman's Resolution.
9. Golden Bull: Or, The Garland of Love's Craftiness.
10. Gilderay: Or, The Scotch Lover's Lamentation.
11. Guy of Warwick

12. Garland of Tryals.
13. Goodhurst Garland.
14. Guernsey Garland.
15. Gallant Lord and virtuous Lady.
16. Good Housewife.
17. Goddess's Revenge.
*18. Goodman of Auchtermuchty. (Scottish Ballad)
*19. Greenland Fishery.

1. Herefordshire Garland.
2. Honour of Bristol.
3. Hackney Lady.
4. Hunting the Hare on Banstead-Downs.
5. Hunting of the Gods.
6. Highprized Pin-box.
7. Hasty Bridegroom.
8. Humurous Bites of the World.
9. Humours of Rag-fair.
*10. Harry's (Sir) Delight, or Jolly Sportsman.
*11. Hunt of Badsworth, or the Fox-Chace 1729.
*12. Huntsman's Harmony, or The Fox-Chace by the Duke of Buclms. Hounds.

1. Jolly Roger: Or: His Method of chusing a fair and virtuous Wife:
2. Jolly Sportsman's Pastime: Or, Sir Harry's Delight.
3. Jury of Matrons.
4. Johnny's earnest Request.
5. Johnny Armstrong.
6. Jolly Farmer's Garland.
7. Jovial Batchelor.
8. Jane Shore.
9. Jockey and Jenny.
10. Isle of Wight.
11. Joyful Marriage.
12. John True and Susan Mead.
13. Jolly Crispin's Garland.
14. Jolly Sailor's Description of a [illegible] of War.
15. Intire Lovers.

1. Kentish Garland.
2. Kentish Tragedy.
3. King Arthur and the Knights of the round Table.

4. King Henry.II and the Miller of Mansfield.
5. King William and the Forrester.
6. King John and the Abbot of Canterbury.
7. King Edward IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth.
8. King Lear and his three Daughters.
9. King Richard the Third.
10. King Alfred and the Shepherd.
11. King Richard, sir-nam'd Coeurdelion.
12. King and the Northern Man.
*13. King Richard II. The Deposing of.
*14. King Henry V. His Conquest of France.
*15. Kitchen Fray between Nell and her Mistress.
*16. King Charles 1sts. Martyrdom.
*17. King Charles IId's Restoration.
*18. King George IIId.

1. Lover's lamentable Tragedy.
2. Lady Isabell's Tragedy.
3. Lady's Garland.
4. Loyal Lover's Garland.
5. Lord's Tragical Garland.
6. Life and Death of King Richard the third.
7. Lamentable Fall of a gallant Lord and virtuous Lady.
8. Love's Chronicle: Or, the changing Heart.
9. Lord Thomas and fair Eleanor.
10. Lady's Fall.
11. London 'Prentice.
12. Keeping of the Lords.
13. Lord Willoughby.
14. Lord Wigmore.
15. Leather Bottle.
16. Lady fell in love with her Serving-man.
17. Low-Country Soldier turn'd Purgo-master.
18. Little Musgrove and Lady Barnet.
19. Lovesick Serving-man.
20. Lord Mohun and Duke Hamilton.
21. Lamentable Fall of the Dutchess of Gloucester.
22. Love with Measure.
23. Love in a Barn.
24. Love in a Tub.

25. Life and Death of the Duke of Berwick.
26. Loyal Lovers of Exeter.
27. Lord Henry and Fair Katherine.
28. Lord Lovat.
*29. Ladies Daughter of Paris.
*30. Love and Honour, or the Lover's Farewell to Colisto.
*31. Leeds Tragedy.
*32. Leicestershire Garland.
*33. Lord Lovat.

1. Mirth after Sorrow.
2. Miraculous Farmer.
3. Merry Broomfield.
4. Merry Hay-makers.
5. Monmouth worsted in the West.
6. My Dog and I.
7. Merry Wakefield.
8. Mitcham Widow.
9. Madman's Morrice.
10. Masterpiece of Love Songs.
11. Maid of the West sold her Maidenhead for a high crown'd Hat.
12. Maudlin, the Merchant's Daughter of Bristol.
13. Merchant outwitted by the Chambermaid.
14. Mournful Widow's Garland.
15. Merry Cuckold and kind Wife.
16. Miller's advice to his Three Sons.
17. Miss Blandy.
18. Mourning Conquest.
19. Mistaken Lady's Garland.
20. Mournful Lady's Garland.
*21. Mirth for Citizens.
*22. Maiden's bloody Garland.

1. Northamptonshire Tragedy.
2. New Dorsetshire Garland.
3. Noble Riddle wisely expounded.
4. Northern Lord.
5. Nobleman's Cruelty to his Son.
6. New Game at Cards.
7. News from Hide-Parke.
8. Norfolk Wonder, Or, The Maiden's Trance.
9. Northern Ditty.

10. Neptune's Raging Fury.
11. New Way to make love.

1. Overthrow of proud Holofernes; and the Triumph of virtuous Queen Judith.
2. Old-man's Wish.
3. Oxfordshire Tragedy: Or, The Virgin's Advice.
4. Oxfordshire Garland.
*5. Oxfordshire-Wonderful Relation of a Family poisoned (1710) in the Forest of Whichwood.
*6. Old Hat (Since this old hat was new.)
*7. Oxford Rambles.

1. Prince of England's Courtship to the King of France's Daughter.
2. Plymouth Tragedy.
3. Poor Robin's Dream.
4. Pleasant Ballad of Tobias.
5. Politick Lover: Or, The young Gentleman outwitting his Sweetheart by Virtue of a Bottle of Sack.
6. Politick Lovers: Or, the Windsor Miser outwitted.
7. Page's Life of Plymouth.
8. Princely Diversion: Or, The Jovial Hunting match.
9. Pope's Pedigree.
10. Pride's Fall.
11. Presumptuous Sinner.
12. Politick Wife: Or, The Devil outwitted by a Woman.
13. Pretty Kate of Windsor.
14. Politick 'Squire: Or, The Highwayman catch'd in their own Play.
15. Prodigial Daughter.
16. Politick Maid of Suffolk.
17. Princely Lovers Garland.
18. Patient Grizzel.
19. Poor-man's Counsellor: Or, The married Man's Guide.
20. Palatines Courtship.
21. Princely Pastime: Or, The Huntsman's Pleasure.
22. Perjur'd Shepherd.
23. Pennyworth of Wit.
24. Poor, unhappy, transported Felons.
25. Pretty Sally's Garland.
26. Pretty Green-coat Boy.
27. Proud Esquire Reformed.
28. Pattern of true Love.
*29. Paradice lost and regained.

1. Queen Elizabeth's Champion: Or, The Earl [illegible]
2. Queen Eleanor's Confession.
3. Quaker's Sermon.

1. Royal Dream: Or, The Forrester's Garland.
2. Royal courtly Garland.
3. Roger's Delight.
4. Rag-fair.
5. Robinhood and the Ranger.
6. Ditto and Little John.
7. Ditto and Allen-a-dale.
8. Ditto and the Butcher.
9. Ditto and Will Stutely.
10. Rakish Husband's Garland.
11. Reading Garland.
12. Repentence too late.
13. Rich Man's Warning Piece.
*14. Robin Hood's Golden Prize.
*15. Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.
*16. Ralph and Nell's Ramble to Oxford.
*17. Robin Hood's Pedigree, Educats.&c.
*18. Robin Hood and the Shepherd.
*19. Robin Hood's Preferment.

1. Sea-Fight between Sir George Byng and the Spaniards.
2. Somersetshire Garland.
3. Strand Garland.
4. Somersetshire Tragedy.
5. Slighted Father and unnatural Son.
6. Seaman of Dover.
7. Spinning-wheel's Glory.
8. Seven Champions.
9. Scotchman outwitted by the country Damsel.
10. Sir James Stuart and Sir George Barton.
11. Seaman's Return to his Love after 7 Years Absence.
12. Swim in Lady.
13. Shepherd Adonis.
14. Sir Talmore.
15. St. Bernard's Vision.
16. Spanish Lady.
17. Sir Hugh in the Grime.
18. Sir William Standley's Travels.

19. Sir Andrew Barton.
20. Servant's Sorrow for the Death of their [illegible] Queen Anne.
21. St. George and the King of Egypt's Daughter.
22. Sweet William of Plymouth.
23. Suffolk Comedy.
24. Secret Lovers.
25. Sir George Byng.
26. Suffolk Miracle.
27. Siege of Gaunt.
28. Saphire in Triumph.
29. Select Hymns of George Whitfield.
30. St. George and the Dragon.
31. Sir Launcelot-du-lake.
32. Staffordshire Maid.

(No.33 omitted)

*34. Squire of St. James's.
*35. Snipe.

1. Three Jolly Butchers and Ten Highwaymen.
2. Temple Wedding.
3. Turn-coat of the Times.
4. True Lover's Knot unty'd.
5. True Lover's Joy: Or, a Dialogue between a Seaman and his Love.
6. Two faithful Lovers.
7. Thomas Stukely.
8. Tom and Will: Or, The Shepherd's Sheepfold.
9. Tavern Kitchen Fray.
10. Time's Alteration.
11. Tobias.
12. Tur Love rewarded with Loyalty.
13. Tit for Tat.
14. Titus Andronicus.
15. Turkey Factory.
*16. Tradesman's Complaint upon the hardness of the Times &c, B.L.
*17. Teague's Ramble.

1. Unfortunate Love of a Lancashire Gentleman: With the hard Fortue of a fair young Bridge.
2. Unnatural Father: Or, The Dutiful Son's Reward.
3. Unconstant Son's Reward.
4. Unhappy Lady of Hackney.
5. Unhappy Lover's Garland.

1. Valorous Acts perform'd at Gaunt.
2. Virgin's Complaint.
3. Virtuous Milkmaid's Garland.
4. Virtuous Wife's Pattern.
5. Valiant Seaman's Happy Return.
6. Virtue and Beauty in Danger.
*7. Virtuous Wife of Bristol.
*8. Vile Seducer.

1. Woody Choiristers: Or, The Bird's Harmony.
2. Weaver's Garland.
3. Worcestershire Wedding.
4. Wiltshire Wedding.
5. Winchester Wedding.
6. William and Margaret.
7. Windsor Lady.
8. Wanton Wife of Bath.
9. Wanton Virgins frighted.
10. Wandering Shepherdess.
11. Wandering Prince of Troy.
12. Wandering Jew: Or, The Shoemaker of Jerusalem.
13. William and Prudence's Overthrow.
14. William Grismond's Downfall.
15. Warning-piece to England against Pride and Wickedness.
16. Wooing the fair maid of London by King Edward.
17. Weeping Christian.
18. Warwickshire Tragedy.
19. William and Susan.
20. Worthy Example of a virtuous Wife.
21. Wonderful Prophesy.
22. Win at first and lose at last.
23. Woeful Complaint of a forsaken Lover.
24. Whittington and his Cat.
25. Welsh Sermon.
*26. Wench of Worcester - Soldier's Salutation to
*27. Woman to the Plow, & Man to the Henroost.
*28. Wooing of K. Catherine by Owen Tudor.
*29. Willy the Scotch Rebel's Letter.
*30. Week before Easter.

1. Yarmouth Tragedy.
*2. Young Distracted Lady.

*3. Yoel - Buxom Maids of -

There are near Two Thousand different Sorts of [illegible] which the New Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a Complete Catalogue."

Appendix D

The stock ballads of Samuel Harward, printer at Tewkes[illegible] 1760 and 1775:

The Beautiful Shepherdess of Arcadia
Bite upon Bite, or the Miser outwitted by the Country Lass
The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green
The Bristol Bridegroom
The Virtuous Wife of Bristol
The Loyal Lovers, or Carmathen Tragedy
Chevy Chase
The Crafty Miller, or Mistaken Bachelor
The Creation of the World, a carol
The Loyal Lovers of Exeter
The Faithless Captain
The French Convert
The Four Indian Kings
The Kentish Tragedy
Little Musgrove and the Lady Barnet
The Honour of a London Apprentice
Love in a Barn
The Low-Country Soldier turned Burgo-Master
The Nobleman's Cruelty to his Son
The Northamptonshire Tragedy
The Northern Lord
The Oxfordshire Tragedy
A choice Pennyworth of Wit
Sweet William of Plymouth
The Cruel Cooper of Ratcliff
Robin Hood and Little John
The Woodstock Tragedy
The Unfortunate Concubine
The Seaman of Dover
The Squire of St. James's
The Suffolk Comedy
King Edward IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth
The Turkey Factor
The Unfortunate Lovers
The Wandering Prince of Troy

The Wandering Shepherdess
The Wandering Young Gentlewoman, or Catalin
The Yarmouth Tragedy
The Children in the Wood
Death and the Lady
The Seven Champions of Christendom
Poor Robin's Dream
The Plymouth Tragedy
Pretty Green-Coat Boy
Squire Vernon's Fox Chase
Famous Flower of Serving Man
The Golden Bull
Jane Shore
The Oxford Ramble
The Dorsetshire Miracle
The Transported Felons
Teague's Ramble
The Spanish Lady's Love to an English Captain
Fair Maudlin
The Leeds Tragedy
Rumours of Rag Fair
The Gloucestershire Tragedy
The Bloody Gardener
The Berkshire Lady
The Broken Contract
Bloody Battle between a Tailor and a Louse
Death of Sir Andrew Barton
Mad Tom
The Cobler's Wife's Discovery
The Disobedient Son and Cruel Husband
The Somersetshire Tragedy
The Welch Wedding
The lamentable Ballad of the Lady's Fall

Extracted from Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, vol.iii., pp.227-8.

In addition to the above ballads are listed details of fifty songsters or 'garlands' though not the specific details of the contents of each of these.

Appendix E.

Extant collections of broadside ballads.

A. Collections mainly of the 'black-letter' period, 1540 — ca.1700.

Bagford. Collected by John Bagford (1650 — 1716) and now in the British Museum. Contents reprinted in the publications of the Ballad Society; Roxburghe Ballads, 8vols., 1871-99, and Bagford Ballads, 2 vols., 1878..

Crawford. 1466 broadsides owned by the present Earl of Crawford. Excellently catalogued in Bibliotheca Lindesiana.... 1890.

Douce. Formed by Francis Douce (1757 — 1834) and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Euing. Originally owned by J.O.Halliwell, this collection was offered to Sir Frederick Madden in December, 1856, for £350. Madden refused the offer and they were purchased later by William Euing. Now a part of the collections of Glasgow University Library. The entire collection was reprinted, the blocks in facsimile, by Glasgow University Press in 1971, with an introduction by John Holloway.

Huth. Collection formed by Henry Huth and now in the British Museum. Reprinted in 1867 by Lilly; see bibliography.

Manchester. 130 ballads in Manchester Free Reference Library. Class marks; 310.D.2 and 3.

Pepys. The largest and finest extant collection of 1650 broadsides accumulated by Samuel Pepys. Now in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Rawlinson. 218 ballads now in the Bodleian Library. 4to.Rawlinson.566.

Roxburghe. 1500 ballads now in the British Museum. The collection was begun by Robert Harley (1661-1724) and passed through several hands, each making additions, until it was acquired by the British Museum in 1845. Almost entirely reprinted by the Ballad Society, 5 vols., 1871-99.

Wood. Early seventeenth century ballads once owned by Anthony a Wood. A similarity between the manuscript notes on some sheets in both the Wood and Pepys collections suggests that the former collection and volume one of the Pepys collection were once together.

B. Collections of eighteenth and nineteenth century broadside ballads.

Baring Gould. Ten volumes of nineteenth century sheets and slips formed by Sabine Baring Gould. British Museum.

Birmingham. A large collection of ballads, mainly of local origin, now in Birmingham Reference Library.

Coventry. A small collection of locally printed chapbooks and broadsides. Coventry City Library.

Crampton. A large collection of late nineteenth century ballads including a large number printed by H.P.Such. Now in the British Museum.

Derby. The copy-book of J.Ford, a Chesterfield printer, together with a small collection of other local broadsides. Derby Public Library.

Firth. 2200 broadsides in eight volumes, bequeathed to the University Library, Sheffield by C.H.Firth. The collection was catalogued by P.W.Carnell in 1966 and a manuscript copy of this catalogue was submitted in part of his dissertation, Ballads in

the Charles Harding Printing Collection in the University of Sheffield. [illegible], March 14, 1966.

Fortey. Upon the death of William [illegible] Fortey in 1921, the stock of this printer was sold and the printed collection presented to the St. Bride Foundation, Printing Library.

Grimsby. Grimsby Public Library possesses the copy-book of Skelton, a Grimsby printer of the mid-nineteenth century.

Harmsworth. This collection was purchased by the University Library, Cambridge, on October 24, 1944, from the Harmsworth Sale at Sotheby's. The eight volumes contain mostly late nineteenth century ballad-sheets and slips and were initially gathered together by a Napoleonic War specialist, A.M.Broadley. (Class marks, Res.b.1940 —47.)

Harvard. Harvard University possesses several collections of ballads and broadsides. Only those items included in Welsh and Tillinghast's Catalogue of English and American Chap-Books and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library, have been consulted here. In addition Harvard holds a small collection of seventeenth century broadsides and a very large collection of uncatalogued nineteenth century slips and sheets.

John Johnson. Held at the Bodleian Library, this immense collection of printed ephemera includes many broadsides of the nineteenth century.

Kendrew. The copy-book of John Kendrew's York shop was presented to the British Museum in 1860. It contains several hundred ballad-sheets, not all from the Kendrew shop but mostly of Yorkshire origin.

Kidson. Frank Kidson's collection of broadside ballads [illegible] part of the very large library he [illegible] in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. In addition [illegible] deposited a small collection of Leeds printed broadsides to Leeds Central Library.

King's Lynn. The Public Library here hold a small collection of broadsides printed in the city during the nineteenth century. They also hold one or two pieces printed by Garrett, ca.1740.

Leeds. In addition to the small Kidson collection, the Central Library has a large nineteenth century collection from the business of C.H.Johnson.

Library Company. The Library Co., of Philadelphia holds a very fine collection of English printed songsters as well as broadsides and song-sheets of English and American origin. The song-sheets were catalogued by Edwin Wolf 2nd., in 1963; see bibliography.

Lincoln. Lincoln Public Library hold a very large collection of nineteenth century broadsides printed within the county.

Liverpool. The Picton Library, Liverpool has a large local collection of nineteenth century broadsides.

Madden. University Library, Cambridge. Sir Frederick Madden's collection of over 17,500 broadsides is the most extensive and best ordered collection existing today. It was purchased from Madden's sale by Henry Bradshaw, the Cambridge librarian, and remained in his own personal collection until his death. His executors sold the twenty six volumes to a rather reluctant University Library for £500 in 1897.

Manchester. Manchester Central Library, [illegible] hold a large Lancashire collection [illegible] very many of the broadsides listed by [illegible] Chadderton St., Manchester.

Newcastle. Useful local collections are held by the City Public Library, and by the University Library. This latter collection was catalogued by Frances M.Thomson, in her Newcastle Chapbooks in Newcastle upon Tyne University Library, Newcastle, 1969.

Nottingham. The University holds a small general collection of English nineteenth century broadsides.

Pennsylvania. A small collection of English and Irish broadsides is held by the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Preston. An extensive collection of Harkness's broadsides is held by the Harris Public Library, Preston.

Sharp. Cecil Sharp's large collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century broadsides is held in the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Libray, London.

Shepard. Mr. Leslie Shepard's privately owned collection of many thousands of broadsides and chapbooks from 1600 to the present day is particularly strong in Marshall, Pitts and Evans sheets.

Worcester, U.S.A. The Isiah Thomas Collection of the American Antiquarian Society's Library at Worcester, Massachusetts is valuable in demonstrating the continuity from broadsides printed at the end of the eighteenth century by the Evans family to those issue by Nathaniel Coverley in Boston at the same period and later.

Yates. A private collection formed by Mr. Michael Yates is particularly strong in Such's stock.

Other significant collections, not seen, are held by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington; Henry Huntington Library, California; New York Public Library, the Library of Congress and the American Universities of Brown, Yale, Kentucky, Texas and Princeton.

In addition, the private library of Walter Harding of Chicago has recently been bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This latter collection, when it is available for use, will require any historian of ballad literature to make extensive use of its treasures. In addition to an unparalleled collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century song-books, it contains many thousands of broadsides, chapbooks and manuscripts relating to this trade. In particular it includes John Camden Hotten's manuscript of his history of street literature, written around 1855.

Appendix F

Ballad printer's catalogues.

For the early period of the trade, one has to depend upon evidence gained from the Stationers' Company Registers. The major entries are those of December 14, 1624; June 1, 1629; March 13, 1656 and March 1, 1675. In addition to reference to the original entries, the work of H.E.Rollins should be consulted:

An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557 — 1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. Compiled by Hyder E.Rollins. University of North Carolina Press, 1924. Reprinted, with additional data by Leslie Shepard, Tradition Press, Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1967.

A further major entry of 1712, by Charles Brown and Thomas Norris is given here as Appendix B.

The catalogues listed below are given in chronological order:

ca.1689. "These small Books, Ballads and Histories undernamed, are all Printed for and Sold by WILLIAM THACHERAY at the Angel in Duck-lane, London; where any Chapman may be furnished with them or any other Books at Reasonable Rates." Single sheet, apprx. 13" x 11", in the Bagford Papers at the British Museum. Harleian MS.5910, pt.2, and a manuscript list, a little later than the above sheet; Pepys MS. 2509 pp.439-443.

1754. A CATALOGUE OF MAPS, PRINTS, COPY-BOOKS, DRAWING-BOOKS, &c. HISTORIES, OLD BALLADS, Broad-Sheet and other PATTERS, GARLANDS, &c. PRINTED and SOLD by WILLIAM and CLUER DICEY, At their WAREHOUSE, Opposite the South Door of Bow-Church in Bow-Church-Yard, LONDON. Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.LIV. Bishop Thomas Percy's copy, with interleaved manuscript additions, Bodleian Library, 258.c.109.

1764. A CATALOGUE OF MAP,PRINTS,COPY-BOOKS,DRA[illegible], OLD BALLADS, PATTERS,COLLECTIONS, &c. PRINTED and SOLD by CLUER DICEY, AND RICHARD MARSHALL, AT the Printing-Office,in Aldermary Church-Yard, LONDON. Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXIV. Unique copy in the Library, Glasgow University.

1832. CATALOGUE OF SONGS AND SONG BOOKS. SHEETS, HALF-SHEETS, CHRISTMAS CAROLS, CHILDREN'S BOOKS, &c.&c.&c. PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J.CATNACH, PRINTER and PUBLISHER. 2, MONMOUTH COURT, SEVEN DIALS. 1832. In the University Library, Cambridge; Madden Mss; Add.Mss.2687.

1836 A LIST of SONGS SOLD BY J.Pitts Printer, Wholesale Toy and Marble Warehouse, No.6, Great St. Andrew Street, 7 Dials London, ... Single sheet, 19½" x 14". Together with a supplement of one hundred titles on a sheet 7½" x 5". University Library, Cambridge; Additional Mss.2687.

1836 Catalogue of Songs, Printed & Sold by T.BIRT, No.39, Great St. Andrew-Street, Seven Dials, London, —No.1 Single sheet, 19" x 11" listing three hundred and twenty six numbered sheets; i.e. approximately six hundred and fifty songs. University Library, Cambridge; Add.Mss. 2687.

1837 An alphabetically listed catalogue of songs issued by Collard of Bristol. This is a manuscript list, perhaps sent by the printer to Sir Frederick Madden. It is dated 1837. University Library, Cambridge; Add.Mss. 2687, sheets 30-33.

1839 CATALOGUE Of BOOKS,PAMPHLETS, SLIP-SONGS, &c.,&c., PUBLISHED BY GEORGE WALKER, JUN[r]., AT THE PRINTING OFFICE, SADLER-STREET, DURHAM. Newcastle-upon-Tyne City Library, reference collection.

1849 CATALOGUE OF Slip Songs, Histories, SONG BOOKS, [illegible]
SCHOOL BOOKS, TOY BOOKS, &c., &c., OFFERED TO [illegible]
JOHN ROSS, PUBLISHER. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: PRINTED BY JOHN ROSS,
ROYAL ARCADE. 1849. University Library, Newcastle.

1850 CATALOGUE OF SONGS, SOLD AT G.I.BIRT'S WAREHOUSE No.39, GREAT
ST. ANDREW STREET, SEVEN DIALS, LONDON. 1850. No.1.
University Library, Cambridge; Add.Mss.2642.

ca.1860 THE "CATNACH STEAM PRESS," ESTABLISHED 1813. A TRADE LIST
OF SONG BOOKS, CHILDREN'S BOOKS, VALENTINES, BIRTHDAY CARDS,
CHRISTMAS CARDS, &c. PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM S.
FORTEY, (Sole Successor to the late J.CATNACH.) 2 & 3,
MONMOUTH COURT, SEVEN DIALS, LONDON, W.C.....
8 page catalogue plus three separate ballad lists on quarto
sheets. Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

ca.1860 HAWKERS' LIST. WILLIAM R. WALKER, GENERAL PRINTER & PUBLISHER,
ROYAL ARCADE, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.
University Library, Newcastle.

ca.1860 A twenty-six page catalogue of songsters and ballad sheets
issued by W. & T. Fordyce, 48, Dean-street, Newcastle. It
is not possible to quote the title page as it is missing from
this unique copy in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

ca.1860 Catalogue of Songs Constantly kept in Stock BY HENRY P.SUCH,
Printer and Publisher, 177, Union Street, BOROUGH, LONDON.—S.E.
Country orders promptly attended to, IF accompanied with a rem-
ittance. STAMPS TAKEN AS CASH UNDER 1£
Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

ca.1865. CATALOGUE OF SONGS PRINTED AND SOLD BY T. [illegible],

6, CHADDERTON STREET, OFF OLDHAM ROAD, [illegible]

And may be obtained, together with a great Variety of Song Books, Dream Books, Peace Eggs, Fortune Telling Books, and Children's Books, Shops and Hawkers supplied, also the Original Champion Prize Medal Song Book, Published Monthly. N.B. — Having bought all Wrigley's and Bebbington's stock of Stereotype Plates of Songs and Hymns, Shops and Travellers can be supplied with as great a variety and as Cheap as any other House in the Trade.

Lists sheets Nos. 1 — 591

A supplement was issued on a single sheet, a few years later. It includes Nos. 592 — 671.

A final supplement was issued in April, 1872 and contains Nos. 672 — 729.

The above catalogue and it's supplements is held in the local collection at Manchester Central Library, Language and Literature Section.

At Edinburgh, in the Central Public Library, are a series of catalogues issue by Charles and John Sanderson from their premises at 148, Cannongate, Edinburgh. Information from Mr. Peter Cooke of the School of Scottish Studies suggests that this firm, or its successors, remained in the ballad trade in Scotland until shortly before 1939.

Appendix G.

Folksongs which occur upon extant broadsides of [illegible] provenance.

Title	Broadside location.	Folksong collection.
Arthur o'Bradley's Wedding.	B.214	S. W6/1067
Alderman and his lady, The.	[illegible].20	S. W6/967
Baffled Knight, The.	P.III.169	B.
Bailiff's daughter of Islington, The.	P.III.258	B.
Barbara Allen.	C.675	B.
Blind beggar's daughter, The.	P.I.490	S. W4/707
Blow away the morning dew.	R.I22	S. W1/90
Bold Benjamin, The.	P.III.200	H.
Bonny Boy.	P.III.107	S. W8/1356
Bonny Dundee.	6.1334	T.
Captain Ward and the 'Rainbow'.	P.IV.202	B.
Cruel Ship's Carpenter, The	C.655	S. W2/222
Chevy Chase	P.I.92	B.
Cruel Mother, The.	P.V.4	B.
Crafty Kiss, The.	P.III.274	S. W8/1373
Devil and the farmer's curst wife, The.	R.I.340	B.
Drink old England dry.	R.III.612	S. M13/2621
Dumb Wife, The.	E.68	F. p.32
Early, early in the Spring.	P.V.368	S. W6/990
Elfin knight, The.	Pepys Lib.*	B.
Fair Margaret and sweet William.	R.III.338	B.
False Lover, The.	P.III.103	S. W1/106
Famous fight at Malago, The.	P.IV.204	S. M13/2605
Famous flower af serving-men, The.	P.III.142	B.
Farewell Nancy.	P.IV.186	S. W4/624
Friar in the well, The.	P.III.145	B.
Fair Eleanor's Tragedy.	P.IV.49	B.
Foggy dew, The.	P.V.250	S. W1/87
Geordie.	P.II.150	B.
Go from my window.	P.III.127	G. I.126
Gilderoy's last farewell.	P.V.354.	VW. I.116
George Barnwell.	P.II.158	W. Mi.578
Gaberlunzie man, The.	8.1055	B.
High Barbary.	R.LLI.204	B.

* Pepysian Library; The Life and Acts ...of Sir William Wallace is bound up with this broadside ballad.

Hugh of the Grime, Sir.	P.II.148	B.
Husband turned nurse, The.	P.IV.10[illegible]	S. [illegible]
Husbandman and the servingman, The.	P.IV.272	S. [illegible]
Jack Tar's Frolic.	R.III.435	S. [illegible]
James Harris, the demon lover.	P.IV.101	B.
John Barleycorn.	P.I.426	S. W3/525
Johnny Armstrong's last goodnight.	P.II.133	B.
Jolly Pindar of Wakefield, The.	P.II.100	B.
Jolly Beggar, The.	P.III.73	B.
Joan's ale is new.	P.IV.245	S. W1/114
Keeper, The.	P.IV.271	S. W6/920
King Edward IV and the Tanner of Tamworth.	P.II.129	B.
King Henry V's Conquest of France.	P.I.90	B.
King John and the Abbot of Canterbury.	P.I.472	B.
King William and the keeper.	E.156	H. D.99
Knight and the shepherd's daughter, The.	C.1142	B.
Lady and the Dragoon, The.	E.208	B.
Life of a man, The.	R. I.44	Stubbs, p.80
Little Musgrave and Lady-Barnard.	P.I.364	B.
London Prentice, The.	P.III.252	S. W12/2030
Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor.	P.III.316	B.
Lowland Low. (The Golden Vanity.)	P.IV.196	B.
Lord of Lorn, The.	P.I.494	B.
Little John and the four beggars.	P.II.119	B.
Locks and Bolts.	P.I.390	S. W6/961
Merchant's son and the beggar wench of Hull.	C.1397	BBC Archive.
Mermaid, The.	?rb.viii.446	B.
Miller's will, The.	R.III.681	S. W17/2927
Maid of Islington, The.	P.III.259	M.
Noble Foxhunting, The.	R.I.120	Hamer, p.70
Nobleman and the thresherman, The.	P.II.56	S. W10/1685
North-Country lass, The.	E.259	PMOT. p. 458**
Nightingale's song, The.	P.IV.41	S. W3/472
Outlandish knight, The.	R.III.449	B.
Our Goodman.	R.III.622	B.
Peggy and the soldier.	P.IV.151	S. W2/256
Queen Eleanor's Confession.	E.291	B.
Riddles wisely expounded.	P.III.19	B.
Robin Hood and the Tanner.	P.II.111	B.
Robin Hood a nd the Pedlar.	P.II.107	B.

** This is not strictly a folksong recovery, see abbreviations at the end of this list.

Robin Hood rescuing the three squires.	R.III.2[illegible]	[illegible]
Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham.	P.II.10[illegible]	T.
Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutley.	P.II.106	T.
Robin Hood and the bishop.	P.II.109	T.
Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon.	P.II.120	T.
Robin Hood and Little John.	C.1320	B.
Sir Eglamore.	P.II.134	B.
Sir Andrew Barton.	P.I.484	B.
Suffolk Miracle, The.	P.III.332	B.
Sheepcrook and Black dog.	P.III.7	VW. II.168
Sailor from Dover, The.	C.1040	B.
Ten thousand miles.	P.V.322	S. W
Three Jolly Butchers.	P.II.176	S. W1/55
Three Jolly Huntsmen.	R.I.32	S. W1/13
To the begging.	P.IV. 251	LEB.
Wild Rover, The.	C.578	S. M3/2604
William and Margaret.	(see Fair Margaret and Sweet William)	

Key to abbreviations.

For details of broadside collections, see appendix E. E = Euing; C = Crawford; P = Pepys; R = Roxburghe and rb = Roxburghe Ballads, edited by Ebsworth.

Folksong references are as follows:

BBC Archive.	Sound recordings at Broadcasting House as yet un-indexed.
B.	B.H.Bronson, The traditional tunes of the Child ballads. Many variants of each ballad are given.
F.	John Ford, Vagabond Songs, Glasgow,1904.
G.	S.Baring Gould Mss. Plymouth. (3 vols.)
Hamer.	F.Hamer, Garners Gay, 1968.
H.	Hammond Mss. R.Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.
M.	Private collection of Ewan MacColl.
LEB.	Lucy Broadwood Mss. (Packet labelled 'Northampton').
PMOT.	This version, as published by Chappell in his ...Popular Music of the Olden Time.. is now sung by the Waterson family of Hull.
Stubbs.	Ken Stubbs, The Life of a Man. 1970.
S.	Cecil Sharp Mss. Clare College Library. W denotes a notebook of texts. M denotes a notebook of tunes and texts.
T.	The collection of the present writer.
VW.	R.Vaughan Williams Mss. British Museum.
W.	Alfred Williams Mss. Swindon Public Library.

Bibliography of works cited.

The place of publication, if not London, is cited after the title.

Allen, Don Cameron. Essayes by Sir William Cornwallis, the Younger. Baltimore, 1946.

Allnutt, W.H. Notes on Printers and Printing in the Provincial Towns of England and Wales. Oxford, 1878.

(Almanac.) Cambridge, Printed by Cantrell Legge, MDCXXV. STC 405.

anon. A Collection of Old Ballads. 3 vols. 1723-25.

anon. A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides, Printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, between the Years 1559 and 1597. 1867.

anon. The Downefall of Temporizing Poets, unlicenst Printers, upstart Booksellers, trotting Mercuries, a nd bawling Hawkers. 1641.

anon. "Extracts from the Private Diary of the Master of a London Ragged School." English Journal of Education, Vol.9, 1851, pp.33 -38.

anon. "A Folk-Song Discussion." Musical Times, December 1, 1906.

anon. History of the Northampton Mercury. Northampton, 1901.

anon. "Horae Catnachianae." Fraser's Magazine, April, 1839.

anon. The Miscellaneous Works of William Wagstaffe. 1726.

anon. Notes and sketches illustrative of northern rural life in the eighteenth century. Glasgow, 1877.

anon. "The Poetry of Seven Dials." Quarterly Review, 1867, pp.386 - 402.

anon. "Swindell's Penny Histories." Manchester Guardian, Manchester, November 16, 1874.

anon. Two Essays of Love and Marriage. 1657.

Arber, Edward. A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554 - 1640. 5 vols. London and Birmingham, 1875 - 94.

Arber, Edward. London Publishers between 1553 and 1640. Birmingham, 1890.

Ashton, John. A Ballade of the Scottysshe Kynge. The Earliest known English ballad. 1882.

Ashton, John. Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century. 1882.

Austin, Roland. "Robert Raikes, The Elder & The Gloucester Journal." The Library, 3rd.Series, No.21,Vol.VI,1915.

Baring Gould, S. English Minstrelsie. 8 vols. Edinburgh,1895.

Barnard, F.M. Herder's Social and Political Thought From Enlightenment to Nationalism. Oxford, 1965.

Barrett, W.A. English Folk-Songs. n.d. (1892)

Barry, Phillips., et al. British Ballads from Maine. New Haven, 1929.

Bass, Michael T. Street Music in the Metropolis. 1964.

Becon, Thomas. The worckes of T.Becon, which he hath hytherto made and published. 3 vols. 1560.

Bell, John. Rhymes of Northern Bards. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1812.

Bell, Robert. Early Ballads Illustrative of History Traditions and Customs. 1856.

Blagden, Cyprian. "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century." Studies in Bibliography, Vol.6, 1954. University of Virginia Press.

Blunden, Edmund., and Alan Porter. John Clare: Poems Chiefly from Manuscript. 1920.

Bold, Henry. Latine Songs, with their English: and Poems. 1685.

Brand, John. Observations on Popular Antiquities: Including the whole of Mr Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares, With Addenda to every Chapter of that Work: Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1777.

Brathwait, Richard. Whimzies or a new cast of characters. 1631.

Broadwood, Lucy E., and J.A.Fuller Maitland. English County Songs. n.d.

(Broadwood, Rev. John.) Old English Songs, as now sung by the peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex, and collected by one who has learnt them by hearing them Sung every Christmas from early childhood, by The Country People, who go about to the Neighbouring Houses, singing, or "Wassailing" as it is called, at that season.(London),n.d.

Bronson, Bertrand Harris. The Ballad as Song. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969.

Bronson, Bertrand Harris. The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads. 4 vols. Princeton, 1959 - 72.

Bruce, J.Collingwodd., and John Stokoe. Northumbrian Minstrelsy. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1882.

Bryant, Frank Egbert. A History of English Balladry Through the Reign of Elizabeth. Introduction by R.S.Thomson. Norwood, Pennsylvania, 1973.

Bueno, Lillian de la Torre. "Was Ambrose Philips a ballad editor?" Anglia, Vol.LIX, 1935, pp. 252 - 70.

Burstow, Henry. Reminiscences of Horsham, being the recollections of Henry Burstow, the celebrated bellringer & songsinger, set down by William Albery. Horsham, 1911.

Chance, H.Godwin. Bicentenary Gloucester Journal 9th April, 1722 — 8th April, 1922. Gloucester, 1922.

Chappell, William. The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time. 2 vols. 1859.

Chappell, William. Roxburghe Ballads. Vols. I to III. Hertford, 1871 - 80.

Cheney, C.R. "Early Banbury Chap-books and broadsides." The Library, June, 1936, pp.98 - 108.

(Cheney, C.R.) John Cheney and his Descendants. Printers in [illegible] Since 1767. Banbury, 1936.

Cherry, J.L. Life and Remains of John Clare. 1873.

Chettle, Henry. Kind-Hartes Dreame. Edited by G.B.Harrison. [illegible].

Collison, Robert. The Story of Street Literature. Forerunner of the Popular Press. 1973.

Combs, Josiah H. Folk-Songs of the Southern United States. Edited by D.K.Wilgus. Austin, Texas, 1967.

Corbet, Bishop Richard. Poems. 1672.

Craig, W.J.(Ed.) The Complete Works of William Shakespeare. 1905.

Cropper, Percy J. The Nottinhamshire Chap-Books with Notices of their Printers and Vendors. Nottingham, 1892.

Darton, F.J.Harvey. Children's Books in England. Five Centuries of Social Life. Cambridge, 1958.

Davies, David W. An Enquiry Into The Reading of the Lower Classes. Pasadena, California, 1970.

Davies, Robert. A Memoir of the York Press. 1868.

Davis Jr., Arthur Kyle. More Traditional Ballads of Virginia. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960.

Dean - Smith, Margaret. A Guide to Folk Song Collections. The University of Liverpool in association with the English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1954.

Defoe, Daniel. A Tour thro' the whole Island of Great Britain. 3 vols. 1714 - 27.

Deloney, Thomas. The Garland of Good Will. Edited by J.H.Dixon. 1851.

Dennis, John. Original Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical. 1721.

Dibdin, T.F. The Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain. 4 vols. 1810 - 19.

Dixon, J.H. Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England, taken down from oral recitation,...1846. (Reprinted, Wakefield,1973.)

Domestic State Papers. Henry VIII, Vol.12, Part 1, 1537.

Dorson, Richard M. American Folklore and the Historian. Chicago, 1971.

Duncan, Edmondstoune. The Story of Minstrelsy. 1907.

D'Urfey, Thomas. Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy. 6 vols. in 3. New York, 1959. (This is a facsimile of the 1876 London edition, which in turn reprinted the edition of 1719 -20.)

Earle, John. Micro-cosmographie. Edited by Edward Arber. 1868.

Ebsworth, J.W. Bagford Ballads. 2 vols. 1878. (Reprinted, New York, 1967.)

Ebsworth, J.W. Roxburghe Ballads. Vols. IV to VIII inclusive. Hertford, 1883 - 97.

Ebsworth, J.Woodfall. Choyce Drollery: Songs & Sonnets. Boston, Lincolnshire, 1876.

Ebsworth, J.Woodfall. Merry Drollery Compleat..Boston, Lincolnshire, [illegible].

Ebsworth, J.Woodfall. Westminster Drollery. Boston, Lincolnshire, [illegible].

Elwes, Winefriede., and Richard Elwes. Gervase Elwes — The Story of his Life. 1935.

Engel, Carl. An Introduction to the Study of National Music; comprising Researches into Popular Songs, Traditions and Customs. 1866.

Ergang, R.R. Herder and the Foundation of German Nationalism. New York, 1931.

Evans, T(homas). Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative, with some of modern date. 2 vols. 1777.

Eyre, G.E. A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: from 1640 — 1708 A.D. 3 vols. 1913-14.

Farmer, H.G. "The Kidson Collection" The Consort. July, 1950.

Federer, Charles A. Yorkshire Chap-books. First Series. 1889. (There was no further progress in extending this 'series'.)

Felix Farley's Bristol Journal. Bristol, August 17, 1754.

Fletcher, Andrew. The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher, Esq; of Saltoun. Glasgow, 1749.

Foster, Joseph. Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire. 2 vols. 1874.

(Foxon, D.F.) A Register of Books 1728 - 1732 extracted from The Monthly Chronicle. 1964.

Freeth, John. The Political Songster, or A Touch on the Times. Sixth Edition, Birmingham, 1790.

Fuller, Thomas. The Worthies of England. 1662

Gardiner, George. " The Quest for Folk-Songs in Hampshire." Hampshire Chronicle. December 28, 1907.

"Dr. Gardiner on Folk-Songs". Hampshire Chronicle, February 20, 1909.

"Hampshire Folk Songs. Dr. Gardiner's Quest and the Result." Hampshire Observer, October 16, 1909.

Gay, John. The Shepherd's Week. 1714.

Gent, Thomas. British Piety Display'd In the Glorious Life, Suffering, and Death of the Blessed St.Winefred: 6 parts. (i.e. chap-books) York, 1742.

The Gentleman's Magazine, 1735.

Gilbert, Davies. Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the tunes to which they were formerly sung in the West of England. Together with Two Ancient Ballads, A Dialogue &c. 1823.(Reprinted, Norwood, Pa., 1973.)

Gilberthorpe, Enid C. Books printed by John Garnet, Sheffield's first known printer. Sheffield, 1969.

Greg, W.W. Companion to Arber. Oxford, 1967.

Greg, W.W. " On Certain false dates in Shakespearian quartos." The Library, I, ix,1908.

Grosart, A.B. (Ed.) The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford. 2 vols. 1878.

Grover, Carrie B. A Heritage of Songs. Norwood, Pa., 1973.

Hales, John., and Frederick J.Furnivall. Bishop Percy's Folio MS. 3 vols. 1868. (Reprinted, with new introduction by Leslie Shepard, Detroit, 1968.)

Halliwell, James O. The Yorkshire Anthology. 1860.

Hamer, Douglas. " Parodies of Chevy Chase". Notes and Queries, June 24, 1933.

Harker, David. "Cecil Sharp in Somerset — Some Conclusions." Folk Music Journal, Vol.2, No.3, 1972.

Harland, John., and T.T.Wilkinson. Ballads and Songs of Lancashire. Ancient and Modern. Second edition. 1875.

(Joseph Haslewood.) "Old Ballads". The Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1823.

Hearne, Thomas. Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia, Oxford, 1719.

Hindley, Charles. (the younger.) The History of the Catnach Press. 1887.

Hindley, Charles. The Life and Times of James Catnach. (Late of Seven Dials) Ballad Monger. Welwyn Garden City, 1970. (A reprint of the London edition of 1878.)

(Hogg, James.) The Ettrick Shepherd and William Motherwell. Eds. The Works of Robert Burns. 5 vols. Glasgow, 1834.

Holloway, John. The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads. Glasgow, 1971.

How, John. Some Thoughts on the Present State of Printing and Bookselling. 1709.

Hume of Godscroft, David. History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus. Edinburgh, 1644.

Humphries, Charles., and William C.Smith. Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Earliest Times to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. Oxford, 1970.

Huntington, Gale. Songs the Whalemen Sang. Barre, Mass., 1964.

Husk, William Henry. Songs of the Nativity; being Christmas Carols.. 1868.

Hustvedt, Sigurd Bernhard. Ballad Criticism in Scandenavia and Great Britain during the eighteenth century. New York, 1916.

Ingledew, C.J.Davison. The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire.. 1860.

Jackson, W.A. Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640. 1957.

Jewitt, Llewellynn. The Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire. 1867.

Jones, Ernest. Cheshire Provincial Melodies. n.d. (ca.1799.)

Jones, Redvers. The Life of Old Jemmy Catnach. Penzance, 1965.

Jonson, Ben. Timber, or Discoveries being Observations on Men and Matters. Edited by Israel Gollancz. 1902.

Keith, Alexander. Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs, Collected in Aberdeenshire by the Late Gavin Greig. Aberdeen, 1925.

Kidson, Frank. "The Ballad Sheet and Garland." Journal of the Folk-Song Society, No.7; Vol.2 - No.2, 1905.

Kidson, Frank., and Mary Neal. English Folk-Song and Dance. Cambridge, 1915.

Kidson, Frank. Traditional Tunes.. Oxford, 1891.

Laws, Jr., G.Malcolm. American Balladry from British Broadsides. Philadelphia, 1957.

Leach, Maria., et al. Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend. 2 vols. New York, 1949.

Leather, E.M. Folklore of Herefordshire. Hereford, 1912.

Lee, W. (Ed.) Daniel Defoe: Life and recently Discovered Writings: 1716 - 1729. 3 vols. 1869.

Lemon, Robert. Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1866.

Lloyd, A.L. Folk Song in England. 1967.

The London Magazine, 1769

Love, David. The Life, Adventures and Experiences of David Love. Nottingham, 1825.

Luders, A., et al. The Statutes of the realm. 11 vols. in 12. 1810-28.

MacGregor, C. The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham. 2 vols. Glasgow, 1883.

Madan, F. Day Book of John Dorne. Oxford, 1885.

Magee, John. Some Account of the Travels of John Magee, Pedlar and Flying Stationer. Paisley, 1826.

(James Maidment) The Ballad Book. Edinburgh, 1828.

Mann, F.O. (Ed.) The Works of Thomas Deloney. Oxford, 1912.

Margoliouth, H.M. (Ed.) The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell. 2 vols. Oxford, 1927.

Mason, M.H. Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs... 1878.

Mayhew, Henry. London Labour and the London Poor. 4 vols. 1861 - 62.

McKerrow, R.B. A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland.....1557 - 1640. 1910. (Reprinted 1968.)

Merriam, Alan P. The Anthropology of Music. Northwestern University Press, 1964.

Morgan, William. Ogilby's and Morgan's Pocket Book of the Roads,... The Ninth Edition, Corrected. 1741

Morris, Alton M. "Mrs Griffin of Newberry." Southern Folklore Quarterly, 8, 1944. Gainesville, Florida.

Motherwell, William. Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern. Glasgow, 1827.

Neuberg, Victor E. Chapbooks. A Guide to reference material... Second Edition. 1972.

Neuberg, Victor E. "The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade." The Library, Fifth Series, Vol.XXIV, No.3, 1969.

Nicholas, J. (Ed.) The Life and Errors of John Dunton (written 1703, printed 1705) edited with other tracts by him. 1818

Norris, H.E. Saint Ives and the Printing Press. St Ives, 1889.

Norris, Herbert E. " St.Ives Mercury." Notes and Queries. Vol.115.II, December 17, 1910.

Notestein, W., et al. Commons Debates 1621. 1935.

O'Lochlainn, Colm. More Irish Street Ballads. Dublin, 1965.

O'Shaughnessy, Patrick. More Folk Songs from Lincolnshire. 1971

P(arrot), H(enry). Cures for the Itch. 1626.

Peacock, Kenneth. Songs of the Newfoundland Outports. 3 vols. Ottawa, 1965.

Percy, Thomas. Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, Together with some few of later Date. 3 vols. 1765. Later editions in 1767, 1775 a nd 1794. The latter ostensibly edited by Percy's son.

Pinto, Vivian De Sola., and Allan Edwin Rodway. The Common Muse. An Anthology of Popular British Ballad Poetry 15th — 20th Century. 1957.

Plomer, H.R. " The Booksellers of London Bridge." The Library, Vol.4, N.S., 1903.

Plomer, Henry R. A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667. 1907 (Reprinted 1968.)

Plomer, Henry R., A Dictionary of the printers and booksellers.... 1668 — 1725. Oxford, 1922. (Reprinted, 1968.)

Plomer, H.R., et al. A Dictionary of the Printers....1726 to 1775. Oxford, 1932. (Reprinted, 1968.)

Pope. Alexander. Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. 5 vols. 1727.

Pound, Louise. Poetic Origins and the Ballad. New York, 1921.

Purslow, Frank. The Foggy Dew. More English Folk Songs from the Hammond & Gardiner Mss. 1974.

Purslow, Frank. Marrow Bones — English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner Mss. 1965.

Purslow, Frank. The Wanton Seed. More English Folk-Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner Mss. 1968.

Randolph, Vance. Ozark Folksongs. 4 vols. Columbia, Missouri, 1946-50.

Reeves, James. The Idiom of the People. 1958.

Ritson, Joseph. Northern Garlands. Re-issue of Thomas Park's edition of 1810 with new introduction by R.S.Thomson. Norwood, Pa., 1973.

Ritson, Joseph. A Select Collection of English Songs, with Their Original Airs: and A Historical Essay on the Origin and Progress of National Song. Second edition, with additions by Thomas Park. 3 vols. 1813.

Roberts, William. Memoirs of the Life and Correspondance of Mrs Hannah More. 4 vols. 1834.

Rollins, Hyder E. Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. Second edition, Hatboro' Pa., 1967.

Rollins, Hyder E. "The Black-Letter Broadside." PMLA, Vol.34. New York, 1919.

Rollins, Hyder E. "Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger." Modern Philology, Vol. XVI, 1919, pp.113-138.

Rollins, Hyder E. "William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad Writer." Studies in Philology, Vol.XVII, 1920, pp.199-245.

Roy, W. (Translator.) The true beliefe in Christe a, his sacramentes. 1550.

Sandys, William. Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern, .. 1833.

Say, Samuel. Poems on Several Occasions: and The Critical Essays.. 1745.

Schelling, Felix E. (Ed.) The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson. 2vols. 1910.

Sharp, Cecil J. English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians. 2 vols. 1932.

Sharp, Cecil J. English Folk-Song — Some Conclusions. 1907. (Fourth, revised edition, corrected and improved by Maud Karpeles, 1965.)

Shenstone, William. Works. 3 vols. 1764-69.

Shepard, Leslie. The Broadside Ballad. 1962.

Shepard, Leslie. The History of Street Literature. Newton Abbot, 1973.

Shepard, Leslie. John Pitts Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765 - 1844. 1969.

Sidney, Sir Philip. An Apologie for Poetrie.1585. Edited by Edward Arber. 1868.

Simpson, Claude M. The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music. New Jersey, 1966.

Simpson, Percy. Proof Reading in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. 1935.

Smith, Charles Manby. The Little World of London. 1857.

Smith, J.M.D. Observations on the Use and abuse of the Cheltenham Waters. Cheltenham, 1786.

Strathesk, John. Hawkie: The Autobiography of a Gangrell. Glasgow, 1888.

Stubbs, Ken. The Life of a Man. 1970.

Summer, Heywood. The Besom Maker and other Coutry Folk Songs. 1888.

Taylor, John. The carriers cosmographie... 1637.

Thompson, Harold W. Body, Boots and Britches. New York, 1939

Thomson, Frances M. Newcastle Chapbooks in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne University Library. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1969.

Thomson, R.S. Unto Brigg Fair. 1972. (Booklet with record, Leader LEA 4050.)

Todd, William B. A Directory of Printers and others in allied trades. London and vicinity 1800-1840. 1972.

Vaughan Williams, Ralph. National Music and Other Essays. London,1963.

Underhill, John. (Ed.) The Poetical Works of John Gay. 1893. 2 vols.

Van Fossen, R.W. (Ed.) A Woman Killed with Kindness by Thomas Heywood. 1961.

W., R. Martine Mar-Sixtus. 1591.

Walton, Izaac., and Charles Cotton. The Compleat Angler. 1661.

(Watson, James.) Watson's Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems. Glasgow, 1869. (A reprinting of the three parts of 1706, 1709 and 1711 in one volume.)

(Welsh, Charles., and Mr.Tillinghast.) Catalogue of English and American Chap-Books and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library. Cambridge, Mass., 1905.

Wharton, Philip, Duke of. The Drinking Match. A New Ballad in Imitation of Chevy--Chase... Dublin, 1722.

Wheatley, Henry B. (Ed.) Reliques of Ancient English Poetry,.... by Thomas Percy, D.D. 3 vols. 1887.

Whitelaw, Alexander. The Book of Scottish Ballads. n.d. (ca. 1848.)

Widdowson, John. "The Bogeyman: Some Preliminary Observations on Frightening Figures." Folklore, Vol.82, 1971, pp.99-115.

Wilgus, D.K. Anglo-American Folk-Song Scholarship Since 1898. New Brunswick, N.J., 1959.

Williams, Alfred. Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames. With an Essay on Folk-Song Activity in the Upper Thames neighbourhood. 1923.

Wing, Donald. Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America And of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700. 3 vols. New York, 1945.

Manuscripts cited.

S.Baring Gould Mss.	Plymouth Public Library.
William Carpenter MS.	Private collection, R.S.Thomson.
John Clare Mss.	Northampton Public Library and Peterborough Museum.
Percy A.Grainger Mss.	Private collection, R.S.Thomson.
Sir Frederick Madden Mss.	University Library, Cambridge.
Cecil Sharp Mss.	Clare College Library, Cambridge.
Alfred Williams Mss.	Swindon Public Library.
British Museum.	Add MS 28253, f.27^{b} and Harley MS 7316, f19.
Bodleian Library.	MS Rawlinson Poet. 185, f.14^{b}.

In addition I have drawn upon the collections of the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London. This library holds the manuscripts of the following folksong collectors: Janet Blunt, Percy Merrick, George Butterworth, Clive Carey, George Gardiner, Anne G.Gilchrist, the Hammond brothers, Ella Leather, Cecil Sharp (field notebooks only), and Ralph Vaughan Williams (copies of the originals in the British Museum). The various collections are described in Part II, chapter four of this work.

Journals cited.

Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast. 1930 - 37.

Folklore, 1890 —

Journal of the Folk Song Society, 1899 - 1931. (Sometimes called the Folk Song Journal.)

Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. 1931 - 64. (A continuation of the previous journal.)

Folk Music Journal. 1965 — (A continuation of the previous journal.)

Journal of the International Folk Music Council. 1949 —

Southern Folklore Quarterly. 1937 —

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Attention is drawn to the fact that the copyright of this thesis rests with its author.

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the author's prior written consent.